WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 11, NUMBER 1 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | MAY 2000

"There is dignity in work only when it is work freely accepted." Albert Camus

Gassing the Canada Geese

Tristan Baurick

Nobody, they say, wants to kill the geese.

But by the end of this summer 1050 resident Canada Geese, half the Thurston County population, will be exterminated by the USDA's Wildlife Services in response to decisions made by the city governments of Tumwater and Lacey. Olympia may be soon to follow.

Coming up with a solution for the growing population of resident Canada Geese within the Puget Sound area has not been easy and no one on either side of this controversy is completely comfortable with what has been decided.

The problem began in the 1960s as the rising waters caused by dams in the Columbia river area began to destroy eggs and nesting areas used by the migratory Canada Geese. In an effort to save the geese, hatchlings were raised in captivity and released into the vicinity of the Puget Sound.

According to Steve Valandra of General Administration, a state agency responsible for the health and maintenance of Heritage park, these introduced geese., without the knowledge that would have been taught to them by their natural parents, never had it occur to them to fly south for the winter.

Instead the geese became permanent residents of the Puget Sound The Canada Goose populations began to bloom due in part to human landscapes adorned with open green lawns bordering fresh water. As Jack Horton of Olympia said during his testimony to the Lacey city council, "...this kind of habitat attracts geese like sugar water to bees."

As the growing numbers of geese congregate in these areas, usually at lakeside parks, golf courses, or in the yards of landowners with property bordering freshwater, the natural byproduct is a concentrated abundance of feces A single Canada Goose can produce up to 3 pounds of feces a day.

Neither park goers nor land owners were able to enjoy these grassy, lakeside areas as much as they used to. Besides the eyesore and the messiness, many residents became fearful that their children may eat the feces, that e.coli outbreaks would occur or that the volume of fecal matter in lakes and ponds might cause life-choking algae blooms.

In response to these concerns, the Lacey and Tumwater Parks Departments, as well as the General Administration Agency in charge of the land surrounding Olympia's Capital Lake, began implementing a series of strategies to harass and discourage the geese from defecating in their part of the county. Noisemakers, fences at the edges of lakes, egg addling (destroying eggs), paint ball gun attacks, firecrackers, and hired dogs were all used to varying degrees by the various groups. General Administration, in particular, was very successful, so successful they say, that most of the geese flew south a few miles to Tumwater' 5 Historical Park. This and other instances like it convinced many that chasing the geese was not the answer to the overpopulation problem and that killing them was.

On March 21st, 2000 Tumwater became the first city in the nation to implement a plan that includes the use of lethal removal against Canada Geese. "Plan A", as it is known, calls for the immediate enlisting of the USDA's Wildlife Services to 'fatally remove' Canada Geese from Tumwater territory.

The Regional Resident Canada Geese Steering Committee's recommendation to Tumwater to use lethal removal was instrumental in shaping their decision. This 14 member advisory committee, under the guidance of the USDAs Wildlife Services, included community members and representatives from Lacey Parks and Recreation, the Department of Fish and Wildlife, and the Black Hills Audubon Society. By a majority vote the Steering Committee advocated 'lethal removal' as a recommended policy to solve the resident Canada Geese problem.

Only Catherine O'Neale, an outspo-

(Continued page 6)

Olympia Free Bus to the Rescue!

Tristan Baurick

After the announcement that Intercity Transit was to cut its Sunday service, many who depend on public transportation the most felt abandoned. Fortunately, the Olympia Free Bus has come to the rescue.

Every Sunday for the last seven weeks the Olympia Free Bus has coveredroutes 41, 44, 62, and 66. The Free Bus has also provided an on-call van for any who need it - complete with wheel-chair accessibility.

Many different people, for many reasons , make use and depend on the Free Bus. Below are some members of the Olympia community that made use of the Free Bus during a four hour period on Sunday, April 16th. The riders were asked why they use the Olympia Free Bus, where they learned of it, and if they had any safety concerns while riding.

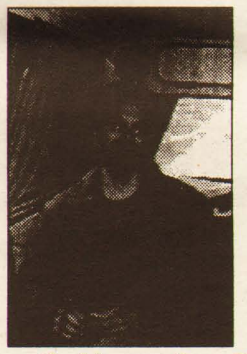
The Olympia Free Bus is changing from a scheduled routes to a n on-call basis system. To leave a message for the Free Bus call 236-7454. On Sundays call 789-3614.

Phan Nguyen
Evergreen Student and KAOS radio show host

On his way from downtown to the Evergreen campus for his radio show, "Bundle of Joy", and to study at the library. If not for the Free Bus Phan says he would have had to either walk or borrow a bike. First heard of the Free Bus during an Alliance For Public Transportation meeting. Regarding safety on the bus Phan said that, for him, it is "a bigger safety concern to ride a bike."

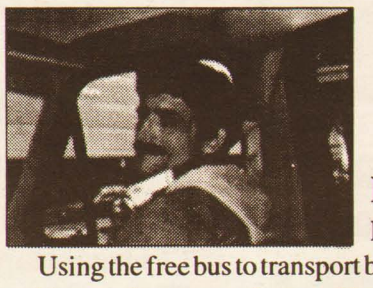
Nathan Eurgess, student

On his way to Tumwater from downtown, Nathan preferred the Free Bus to walking after an exhausting evening the day before spent roller-blading in the Procession of the Species. Learned of the Free Bus through his mother who cannot drive. No safety concerns.



Jonathan Mitchell
Evergreen student

On his way from Harrison and Division to assist a group of Native Americanstudents with art projects at Evergreen's woodshop. If not for the Free Bus Jonathan would have hitched a ride or walked. First learned of the Free Bus from a sign at the Olympia Food Co-Op.



Danny
DJ (DMA Productions)

Using the free bus to transport belongings from downtown to his new home near Lacey. If not for the Free Bus Danny would have had to carry all of histhings on foot. First became aware of the Free Bus from a sign at Bread and Roses. Regarding the Free Bus Danny said, "God wants people to do stuff like this. Its unselfish."

(Continued page 6)

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions:

Correspondence, articles, art, and photographs are always welcome. Please, when possible, put articles on a 3.5" IBM-compatible disk (text preferred) or via e-mail. Artwork and photos should be camera-ready/black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number.

Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)

Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295, wip@ olywa.net

Back Issues:

Get your catalog of indexed WIPs below. Some back issues are available in the Olympia Timberland Library. WIP is being archived on microfilm by the UW Library.

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Mission Statement:

"Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. Works In Progress is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause:

We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Governing Tool:

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:

Friday, May 19th

Proofreading Meeting

Monday, May 22nd
6:30pm at Olympia Library
Everyone Welcome!

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Letters & Briefs

Community Sustaining Fund Spring 2000 Grant

The Community Sustaining Fund (CSF) of Thurston County is pleased to announce our Spring 2000 grant funding cycle. Grant applications for environmental and social change projects are now available to groups and individuals interested in progressive community oriented activities. Grant submissions will be considered up to $1,000.

The deadline for submitting completed grant applications is Friday, May 5, 2000. In-person grant presentations to the CSF Board will be held on Saturday, May 20, 2000. Grant criteria and application forms are available on request from: * Traditions Fair Trade (5th and Water St., Olympia); * calling CSF at 252.4322; or * writing CSF at 2103 Harrison St., NW, Suite 2715, Olympia, WA 98502.

Problems with your landlord?

Call the **Thurston County Tenants Union** hotline at (360)357-0615 or come by our monthly public legal clinic on **Monday, May 8th at 6pm in the downtown Olympia Library**. Meeting follows to discuss CDBG funding and update on Relocation Ordinance. Come to volunteer and join the Board.

Visionary Voices IV is a multi-media extravaganza celebrating the artwork of local women. This one-day event includes an exhibition of 2D and 3D visual art, a cabaret-style showcase of spoken word, music, dance and performance art, and screenings of video art and films. This year it will be held on **Friday, May 12, at the main level library lobby at the Evergreen State College**. There is a reception at 5pm, performances beginning at 6pm and film and video screenings to begin at 10pm. This is a free event for all ages. Call Tracy Andrews for more information at 866-6000 ext. 6162.

Thurston Union for Low-Income People (TULIP) is celebrating its presence in Thurston County on **Saturday May 13 from 3:00-6:00pm at the WA State Employees Credit Union**. TULIP is a club of 400 low-income members. We are actively recruiting 100 more low-income members to receive our charter to become a low-income credit union. Call for information:

Parent educator Shanon Leonard will be presenting **a free seminar for parents on "Compassionate Parenting."** Shanon emphasizes the use of compassion and awareness to improve our relationships with our children and ourselves. Learn how to model the behavior you want for your children rather than attempting to control children's behavior. The seminar will be on **Friday, May 19, from 6:30pm-8:30pm**. The Olympia Child Care Center will provide limited free childcare for children who are pre-registered. The **Family Support Center is located at 108 State Ave. in downtown Olympia**. To register for this event, call 754-2629.

MARCH AND RALLY FOR JUSTICE

FOR LEONARD PELTIER AND THE FIRST NATIONS

SAT. MAY 20, 2000, SEATTLE, WA

MARCH: 12 NOON; (Starting point First and Yesler)

RALLY: STEINBREUCK PARK (Western & Virginia)

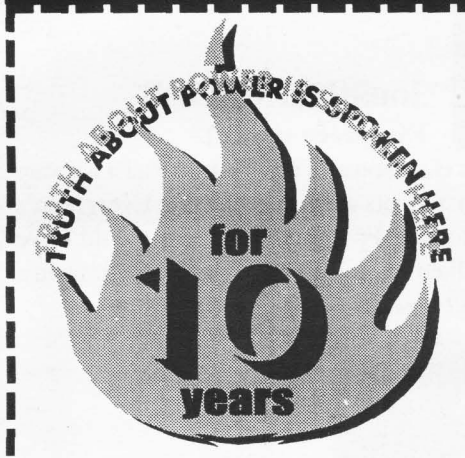
PLEASE CONTACT; SEATTLE LEONARD PELTIER SUPPORT GROUP; Jim at 206 325-0085. Now is a very important time for Leonard, please help us keep the pressure on!

Welfare Rights Organizing

Our planning and organizing meeting for May falls on May 1, so we are going to have a party. We will be celebrating workers of all kinds from mothers to low wage laborors to hard working community volunteers. Anyone is welcome to come and help us celebrate our successes. WROC will also be presenting a workshop on Sunday April 30 at the May Day Celebration at the Capitol Theater. WROC will be presenting a

(Continued page 15)

Subscription Form



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MAY 2000

Nelson Mandela

on the military actions against Yugoslavia and the continued bombing of Iraq

"...I am resentful about the type of thing that America and Britain are doing. They want now to be the policemen of the world...It's a totally wrong attitude...The message they're sending is that any country which fears a veto [from the UN] can take unilateral action. That means they're introducing chaos into international affairs: that any country can take a decision which it wants."

"The US did not do this when the secretary-general of the UN was white. They are doing it now, ignoring the UN under Kofi Anna. And there are many people who are whispering that it is because the secretary-general is black. That perception is disturbing."

Source: ***The Guardian*****, "Mandela accuses 'policeman' Britain" by Anthony Sampson, April 5, 2000**

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
"50% of rural people in Iraq have no access to potable water and waste water treatment facilities no longer function in most urban areas". WHO	**1** **1998**: Rwandan P M pleads guilty of murdering 500,000 Tutsis **1999**: Yugoslavia agrees to release POWs to J. Jackson	**2** **1999**: Yugoslavia NATO bombs civilian bus on bridge, dozens killed; US fighter jet shot down in Serb territory	**3** **1999**: Dow breaks 11,000 and record for fastest rise between 1,000-point milestones: 24 working days	**4** **1999**: United States Senate vote fails to give Clinton authority to use "all necessary force" to prevail in Kosovo	**5** **1960-** U-2 incident **1999**: Locke signs bill repealing 80-year-old Washington law targeting unions and anarchists	**6** **1999**: NATO/ Russia agree on principles for resolving Kosovo conflict **1999**: NATO bombing continues
7 **1905**- Jews massacred in Ukraine **1999**: Belgrade: 3 NATO missiles strike Chinese Embassy in Belgrade; 3 dead	**8** **1999**: NATO officials blame Chinese Embassy bombing on "intelligence failure" **1999**: China: 4 days of national protests start	**9** **1999**: US embassy building in southwest China is burned **1999**: CIA is blamed for Chinese Embassy bombing	**10** **1999**: China suspends contacts with US; Clinton apologizes again; Belgrade claims partial withdrawal from Kosovo	**11** **1999**: NATO continues its bombing attacks while claiming Yugoslavia's claim of troop withdrawal from Kosovo untrue	**12** **1999**: 50th day of bombing campaign; a record 327 sorties reported by NATO; Yugoslavia claims many military casualties	**13** **1999**: China's president accuses US of seeking global dominance, urges nations to defy American bullying
14 **1999**: NATO bombs village housing troops/ ethnic Albanian refugees; 79 killed; NATO announces regrets	**15** **1869**: Nat'l Woman Suffrage Association formed in N Y **1916**: Marines land in Santo Domingo to quell civil disorder	**16** **1999**: FBI announces crime rate falls for seventh straight year **1999**: NATO warplanes target sites inside Kosovo	**17** **1999**: Makah take first whale in 70 years **1999**: Britain pushes build up of ground force to ready for invasion of Yugoslavia	**18** **1996**: 200 protest the timber salvage rider in Sylvester Park **1999**: Clinton says ground troops in Yugoslavia a possibility	**19** **1999**: NATO bomb Belgrade hospital killing at least three; Milosevic agrees to the peace plan principles	**20** **1961**- Mob attacked Freedom Riders in Montgomery **1999**: US trade deficit reaches all time high: 19.7 billion
21 **1999**: US urges build up of ground troops in Balkans; NATO authorizes more bombing of downtown Belgrade	**22** **1999**: Neah Bay: Celebration for Makah's successful hunt **1999**: NATO accidently bombs ethnic Albanian rebel base	**23** **1999**: NATO's bombing leaves millions in the dark and threatens Yugoslavia's water system and drinking water supply	**24** **1861**- Maj. Gen. Butler declared slaves "contraband of war" **1999**: Supreme Court holds school can be liable for harassment	**25** **1998**: New Indonesia president pledges to hold open elections **1999**: NATO okays larger ground force; air strikes continue	**26** **1937**: Ford factory police attack brutally beat Walter Reuther **1999**: NATO carries out 650 sorties against Yugoslavia	**27** **1999**: Nation's highway deaths dropped in 1998 to new low **1999**: International War Crimes Tribunal indicts Milosevic
28 **1915**: Women in Berlin demonstrate for peace **1999**: US national personal savings rate at minus 0.7 %	**29** **1999**: France/Germany call for meeting to consider whether Milosevic is ready to accept their conditions to halt bombing	**30** **1999**: Four NATO planes attack bridge filled with shoppers and cars killing eleven; a retirement house is struck killing ten	**31** **1912**: American Marines land in Cuba to protect U S property **1999**: NATO missiles kill 16 in hospital and retirement home	**APRIL** S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30	**"This 'embargo generation' is a lost generation."** **French Ambassador Jean-David Levitte**	**JUNE** S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

Along the Color Line

America: Toward a Police State?

Dr. Manning Marable

For more than one year, the controversy surrounding the murder of Amadou Diallo had made headlines throughout the world. Everyone knows about the unarmed African immigrant who was fired on 41 times as he stood in the vestibule of his Bronx apartment building. The police officers, all white and wearing street clothes, fired on Diallo and struck him 19 times. Weeks ago, when black New Yorkers heard that the cops were acquitted on all charges for Diallo's death, thousands returned to the streets to protest.

We were outraged not only because this use of deadly force was not justified, but that every stage of the handling of the Diallo case was compromised and undercut by racism. The fact that Diallo had no criminal record and was committing no crime, was found to be irrelevant. The accused cops took full advantage of New York City's 48 hour gag rule, giving officers involved in shootings two full days to coordinate their stories to the district attorney's office. The Diallo trial was moved from New York City to Albany to ensure that potential jurors would be more sympathetic with the police. In short, "justice" was thrown out the window, and the killer cops remained at large.

"The fact that Diallo had no criminal record and was committing no crime, was found to be irrelevant."

As disturbing as the Diallo case was, an equally serious example of police brutality has received much less publicity, but may have greater political significance. Less than one year ago in Louisville, Kentucky, an 18 year old black man, Desmond Rudolph, was confronted by two white police officers, Chris Horn and Paul Kinkade, as he was reportedly stealing a sport utility vehicle. The officers fired twenty-two times. Ten bullets pierced Rudolph's body, with six shots exploding in his head. Several months later, a criminal investigation cleared the policemen.

However, Rudolph's killing fit a longtime pattern of racial harassment and intimidation, which the black community has experienced in Louisville for decades. According to State Representative Paul Bather, who represents much of Louisville's black community, there have been nearly 60 misconduct claims filed against Louisville's police department since 1986, amounting to $3.3 million in total damages.

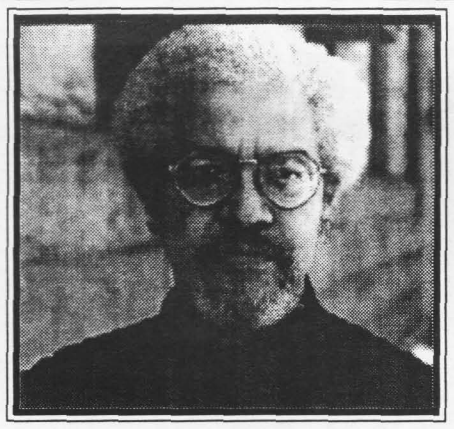
When Louisville Mayor Dave Armstrong was informed that Officers Horn and Kinkade were among a group of officers to be given honors for valor at an annual police awards banquet, he demanded answers from Chief of Police Eugene Sherrard. Armstrong subsequently fired the police chief, complaining publicly that "a culture" inside the department urgently needed to be changed. "This culture only adds to the hostility of minorities who fee they are treated by the police as second-class citizens, without respect," Armstrong stated.

The bizarre response by the Louisville police was reminiscent of the behavior of police in Chile back in 1973, who actively conspired to overthrow civilian authority. Within minutes of Sherrard's dismissal, hundreds of cops dropped everything, and drove to Louisville's police headquarters. In protest, nine police commanders promptly resigned their commands. Hundreds of police and their supporters held a mass demonstration at Jefferson Square in central Louisville on March 17, to demand that the mayor resign instead.

As reported in USA Today, longtime Louisville social justice activist Anne Braden characterized these events as a sort of "military coup. If the president fires the chief of staff of the Army, the Army does not march on the White House."

Maybe not, in ordinary times. But we no longer live in ordinary times.

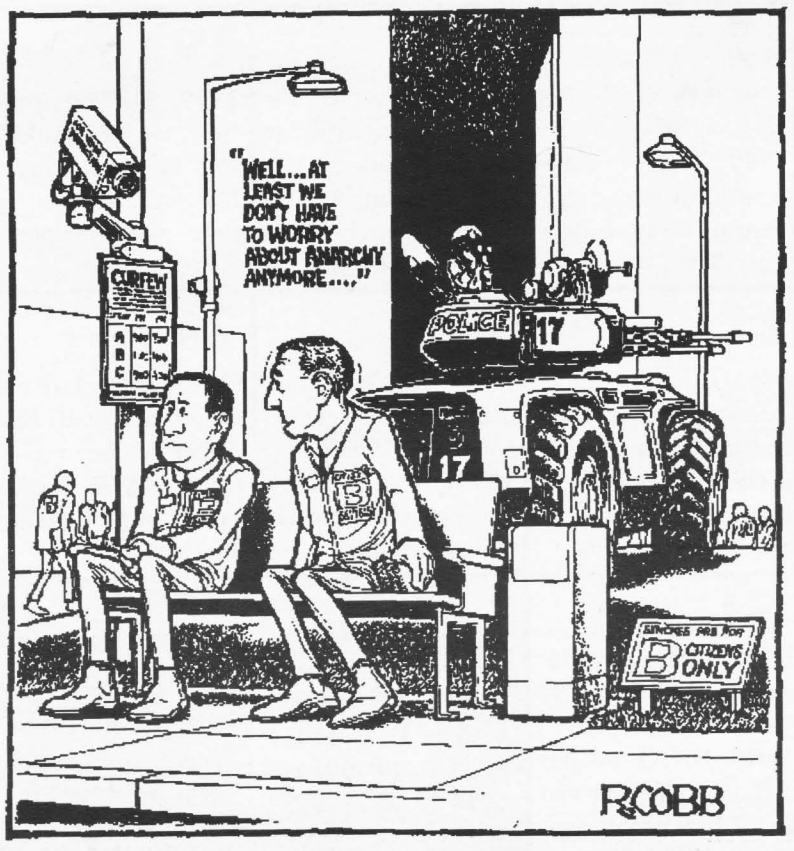
The construction of a vast prison-industrial complex and the enlargement of private security forces throughout the U.S. have created the preconditions for a politically active, ideologically motivated national police apparatus. Thousands of cops no longer believe that they can leave "justice" to the courts. Many thousands more doubt the capacity or will of most elected officials to curb street crimes. Thus the executions of Diallo, and hundreds of other black, brown, and poor people represent a kind of political statement about how the oppressed should be governed within a capitalist society.



Consider the fact that there are now roughly 600,000 police officers, 350,000 prison guards and 1.5 million private security guards. There are about 30,000 heavily armed, paramilitary "SWAT" (Special Weapons and Tactics) teams currently operating in the U.S. The police who killed Diallo were members of New York's Street Crimes Unit, which carried out thousands of stop-and-frisk operations throughout the city. Only two months ago, the New York police department initiated a new $24 million effort called "Operation Condor," assigning 500 extra plainclothes and uniformed officers to various "sting" and surveillance operations, especially in poor and minority neighborhoods. It was one of these "undercover" plainclothes teams on March 16 in New York City that confronted, shot and killed yet another unarmed black man, Patrick Dorismond.

It is also instructive, and disturbing, that these widespread examples of police deadly force and the disregard for citizens' Constitutional rights is not opposed by a significant number of white Americans. For example, in the wake of Dorismond's killing, New York Mayor Rudolph Guiliani, currently campaigning for a U.S. Senate seat, made callous remarks about the dead black man. Guiliani illegally disclosed Dorismond's sealed juvenile records, and refused to extend condolences to the deceased's family. All blacks, Latinos and even most whites living in New York City were appalled by Guiliani's racist behavior. Yet according to polls, only 28 percent of upstate New Yorkers and 34 percent of suburban voters disagreed with Guiliani's handling of this situation. Two-thirds of upstate New Yorkers even said that Guiliani should not have to express remorse to Dorismond's family.

In effect, millions of white middle and upper class people have made the cold calculation that a certain level of unjustified killings of black, Latinos and poor people, is necessary to maintain public order. Yet inevitably they will discover, much to their regret, that when the police and security forces are given a license to kill, that they will not stop at the boundaries of the black community.



CONTROL

by Frank Hoffman

I think it is Gary Zukav who said the issue human beings, the whole species, is here to deal with is control. In restaurants we are often witnesses to the battles for control between small children and their parents. Apparently the children need to know their needs and wishes receive first and primary consideration from their protectors, their parents. If they do not believe this, perhaps the children feel they may well perish, because they cannot provide their own food and shelter. Perhaps realizing their dependency, they overreact.

It is perhaps the desperate need for women that maintains the large patriarchies in the world, whether Muslim, Catholic or Baptist. Patriarchy shows the naked need for control, like those small children display in restaurants; the same need to have basic needs met without negotiating or being kind. This need to control, particularly what is important, becomes quickly a ruthless demand and is often accompanied by aggresssive psychological, physical or social force. If a woman can say No without any fear. If women are equal economically and politically with men, there is no control. Men are not then in control and their needs may not be met. It is my experience that, generally, men do not talk about any of this - neither the great need we have for women nor the violence exerted in the world to make sure that need is met. We make jokes about sex instead.

It's not that women are exempt from this need to control, it does seem they are usually more subtle and even elegant about gaining control. More knowledgeable and understanding about what is really involved. Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher to the contrary.

The sub or counter culture that I and my friends are simultaneously part of and trying to help create, is always trying to slip out of control, slip away from it, fuck it up. The dominant culture finds this annoying. We find that amusing. Oh, the games we play!

And we are even occasionally silly enough to expect the police to have a sense of humor. There is no humor in what society expects of the police. But we forget that, knowing the police to be workers and the parents of teenagers.

Which of course brings us to Art Walk, Procession of the Species and Mayday Celebrations. The City of Olympia spent thousands of dollars on the recent Art Walk and Procession of the Species, blocked off city streets for hours at a time and allowed unseemly displays of gaiety on city sidewalks. People really seemed to be having a good time. I did. Some of the art, hung on walls and in the Procession, is beautiful and remarkable. A big party we had. The Olympian bleated its praise in article after article.

Flyers go up about Mayday celebrations in Olympia. The Olympia police and the Downtown Business Association raise great alarms of possible injury to people and property. The Olympian gets editorally stern.

We're just planning a party. It'll be much smaller than Art Walk and the Procession. There may be some unseemly gaiety on city streets. And it is political, being about workers and corporate control of even our little minds. And is about having an unbidden, unauthorized, good time that does not result in profit.

So there are these attempts to control the Mayday Celebrations. Attempts to get things back under control - like Art Walk is under control. The calls for restraint, responsibility, permits and the like. Yet the world is changing and workers around the world are rejecting the control that results in their lives being ruined and the earth destroyed. And Olympia is no exception.

Come to the Mayday Celebration. It'll be fun!

Up Front

Saving the Miranda Rights

Jerome Johnson

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise in- famous crime...nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a wit- ness against himself, nor deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law...
—excerpt, US Constitution, 5th Amendment

This week, the Supreme Court began to hear the strongest challenge yet to the landmark Miranda v. Arizona decision of 1966. The ruling requires police to advise all suspects of their rights before starting to question them. As most TV viewers know, the ruling requires police to clearly advise suspects of their right to not say anything unless and until a lawyer is there, they can ask for a lawyer at any time, and that a lawyer will be provided if they can't afford one, at public expense, and that anything they say—or write, can be used against them at any time during the prosecution of their case.

These rights are critical to people. I work in the law enforcement field, and I can attest to their supreme importance to the civil liberties of all citizens. This is especially true in this era of almost unchecked police powers, in a time where innocent people can be shot and killed for no reason, and the police responsible get off scot-free. The Miranda warnings provide an essential shield against self-incrimination, in the intensely intimidating atmosphere of a police interrogation. If the Court decides to overturn the Miranda rights it would be a cataclysmic, unnecessary and probably irrevocable loss of what's left of civil rights and remaining threads of defense against unlimited abuses in our "justice" system. It would be even more catastrophic than the disatrous rulings upholding asset forfeiture, years ago.

The current challenge is being brought by police and other "friends of the court," based on a 1968 law passed by Congress and upheld last year by a federal appeals court in Virginia. The conservative-dominated Congress of that time didn't like the Miranda ruling, so it passed a law designed to get around it. The 1968 law says that confessions and other evidence is admissible as long as it's "voluntarily given" in light of "all circumstances", whether the suspect is read the Miranda rights or not.

There are three main problems with this. First, the police claim that Miranda is just too much of an inconvenience during an investigation, they could lock up more felons (again, the ever-successful fear argument)for longer terms and suspects know their rights anyway.

"...its very hard to believe that the case against Miranda is anything except another try for UNLIMITED, almost irrevocable police powers."

Well, I just don't see the "inconvenience", and neither do most of my colleagues. It takes maybe 30 seconds to read a suspect their rights, if that long. 30 seconds is more than a worthy "price" to pay for civil rights. And reading the Miranda rights also protects good cases from being thrown out for technicalities. No one I know wants months, weeks or even days of work GONE just because an extra 30 seconds is "inconvenient."

As the more than two million people—most of whom poor people of color—who are locked up in the U.S. will tell you, the Miranda rights don't prevent police from record levels of arrests and prosecutions. No other country on Earth has more people incarcerated—not Russia, Iraq, China, or Cuba, the current "Rogue Nation of the Week."

Moreover, suspects DON'T automatically "know their rights", even if they've been in trouble before. Nowhere is this more true than in the juvenile system, where I work. Often kids don't know the gravity of the crime they're charged with, or just how powerful this system really is. It sounds incredible, but it's true. Over the past 6 years, I've heard the refrain countless times: "Man, if I'd known it was gonna be like THIS..." As we know, often police don't even respect the rights they read to us. Anyone who truly believes the police will abide by rules you're ignorant of is a damned fool. They want to "solve" the case, and if they cut a few corners that's YOUR problem—tell it to the judge if you're able to appeal your conviction.

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the this anti-Miranda effort is that it's completely unnecessary. From my personal experience, I can confirm that an amazing majority of suspects—at least 85%—waive their rights and talk to police anyway. Part of that is because of the suspect's ignorance, partly misplaced trust in police, and a great deal to do with the coercive atmosphere and high stress suspects face when being questioned. As a result, it's very hard to believe that the case against Miranda is anything except another try for UNLIMITED, almost irrevocable police powers. Let your voice be heard—write, agitate, protest. In the next few months, as the case is being heard, fear- mongering politicians and police will try to scare you into casting away this last vestige of civil liberties. They'll howl that the Thin Blue Line can't keep you safe unless Miranda is overturned—just like they howled when they created asset forfeiture and raised taxes for more prisons and police, instead of teachers and schools and treatment centers. But the terrible truth is, as Al Sharpton so aptly put it, citizens have at least as much to fear from the cops as from the robbers, and they aren't protecting us by taking away what's left of our rights.

In Zimbabwe, Pres. Robert Mugabe drives a nation toward a civil war.
In Peru, Alejandro Toledo wins a runoff against Pres. Fujimori.
In Haiti, a troubled, broken country prepares for elections May 21.
And in Thurston County, a worried community sends thoughts, flowers, gifts and prayers to the recovering Barbara O'Neill.

Your Rights and the Police (from ACLU)

What you say to the police is always important. What you cay can be used against you, and it can give the police an excuse to arrest you, especially if you bad mouth a police officer.

You do not have to answer a police officer' s questions, but you must show your driver s license and registration when stopped in a car. In other situations, you cannot legally be arrested for refusing to identify yourself to a police officer.

You do not have to give your consent to any search of yourself, your car or of your house. If you do consent to a search it can affect your rights later in court. If the police say they have a search warrant, ask to see it.

Do not interfere with, or obstruct, the police. You can be arrested for it.

If You Are Stopped for Questioning

1. It is not a crime to refuse to answer questions, although refusing to answer can make the police suspicious about you. You cannot be arrested merely for refusing to identify yourself on the street.

2. The police may pat down your clothing if they suspect a weapon to check for concealed weapons. Do not physically resist, but make it clear that you do not consent to any further search.

3. Ask if you are under arrest. If you are, you have a right to know why.

4. Do not bad mouth the police officer or run away, even if you believe what is happening is unreasonable. That could lead to your arrest.

If Your Are Stopped in Your Car

1. Show your driver's license and registration upon request. Your can in certain cases be searched without a warrant so long as the police have probable cause. To protect yourself later, you should make it clear that you do not consent to a search.

2. If you are given a ticket, you should sign it, otherwise you can be arrested. You can always fight the case in court later.

3. If you are suspected of drunken driving and refuse a blood, urine or breath test, your driving license can be suspended.

If You Are Arrested or Taken to a Police Station

1. You have the right to remain silent and talk to a lawyer before you talk to the police. Tell the police nothing except your name and address.

Do not give explanations, excuses or stories. You can make your defense in court based on what you and your lawyer decide is best.

2. Ask to see a lawyer immediately. If you cannot pay for a lawyer, you have a right to a free one, and you should ask the police how the lawyer can be contacted. Do not talk without a lawyer.

3. Within three hours after you are arrested, or immediately after being booked, you have the right to make two free complete phone calls in the local dialing area. (1) to a lawyer, (2) a bail bondsman.

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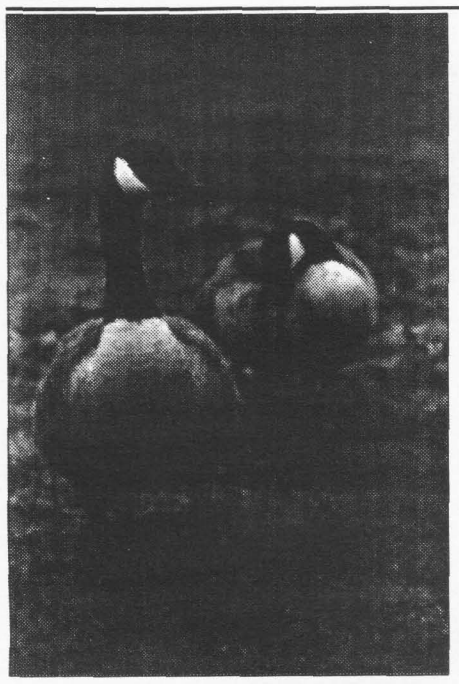


(Geese, continued)

ken advocate against lethal removal, voted against the majority. O'Neale believes the Steering Committee was neither neutral or representative. Many of the community members, she says, were land owners with water front property who joined the Steering Committee with the intention of pushing for lethal removal. O'Neale points out that the USDA's Wildlife Services' guidance toward a decision favoring lethal removal was self-serving. Only the USDA is authorized to exterminate wild geese.

City governments will have to pay the USDA $20 for every goose it removes. This, O'Neale says, will be a new source of income for the USDA and that the agency will likely encourage other governments to take advantage of its wildlife exterminating services.

According to O'Neale, lethal removal is quite a horrifying process for the geese. During the summer months, O'Neale explained, when the geese cannot fly due to the yearly molting process and have congregated for the safety of their newborn goslings, groups armed with nets will corral the geese, herd them into cages, and send them off to a site where the geese will be gassed, three by three.

Roger Woodruff, Assistant State Director of the USDA' Wildlife Services, defends the use of carbon dioxide against the geese. Woodruff sites the fact that the American Veterinarian Medical Association endorses carbon dioxide as a humane method of lethal removal.

More recently, on April 7th, the city of Lacey also adapted plan A. During the City Council meeting in which council members' votes were cast in favor of the plan, the majority of the public came to testify against lethal removal. Nancy Ellis of Olympia said, "Killing the geese will destroy "the love I feel for this area and pointed out that there are plenty of places in the U.S. where wild life has been removed. "There is no value in these places," she said. Mary Boten of Lacey said she was "honored to live with the geese in this community." In her view, Boten said, the overpopulation of humans and the volume of waste created by them was far worse than anything the geese could produce. "And yet," she said, "no one is calling for our lethal removal."

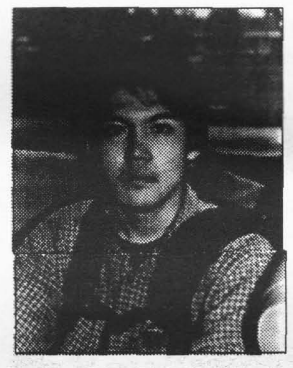
In Olympia the problem of the resident Canada Geese population seems to have reached a temporary cease fire. "The City of Olympia doesn't have as big a problem as Lacey and Tumwater," said Terry Meyer, head of Olympia's Parks and Recreation "Olympia's hotspots have been the Capital Lake area and that's been handled the last two years by [General Administration]." Although Meyer says that the City of Olympia favors non-lethal methods the City Council is set to have a work session on May 2nd to discuss putting plan A to a vote.

Dan Warrin

Recently the victim of a hit and run in which his shin was broken while crossing the street, Dan was not able to get adequate medical attention and now walks with a painful limp. Dan Fist became aware of the Free Bus when Griffiths pulled up beside him a few weeks ago and asked if he needed aride. Dan depends on the Free Bus every Sunday to run errands and getgroceries. "If [the Free Bus] wasn't here, it'd make life a lot worse than it is," he said.

Erica Quimby with daughter Kaiya and Adrienne Newton with daughter Cloe

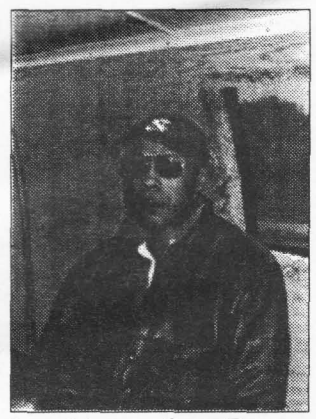
Both mothers are riding back to their homes on Evergreen Park Way after asunny day spent with their daughters at the Farmer's Market. Adrienne saidthat her husband uses the car during the day. Without the Free Bus she and her daughter "would have been stranded at home for the whole day." Adrienne mentioned it would have been nice if there were seat-belts for everyone riding but added "Without the Free Bus, there's no other option."



Renpei Morisawa

Japanese exchange student at Evergreen

On his way to Lacey, Renpei said he would have walked the distance from hisdorm at Evergreen if he was not able to use the Free Bus. "Very long walk!"he exclaimed.



James Hunter

Making use of the Free Bus for the first time, James is on his way from Cooper Point Road to the Sunday dinner provided by the First Baptist Church downtown. When asked if he felt safe riding the Free Bus James answered, "I've ridden a lot tougher, they used to pack us in cattle trucks when I was in the military."

Dolly Lane

The wheel chair accessibility of the Free Bus has allowed Dolly to traveldowntown from her home near Black Lake Blvd. for the First Baptist Church dinner since the Free bus began running. When asked how she would have gotten to the free dinner at the church without the bus Dolly laughed saying, "I wouldn't".

Fighting for Public Transit

Jade

February 26th -Olympia WA. Community organizers from Olympia, and Seattle Earth First! , the I.W.W., Disabled People's Liberation Front, the Alliance for Public Transportation, and Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) joined forces to shut down the road leading to the capitol. In the first public direct action in Washington State since the W.T.O, people came together as a community to stop cuts to Washington State's public transit systems.

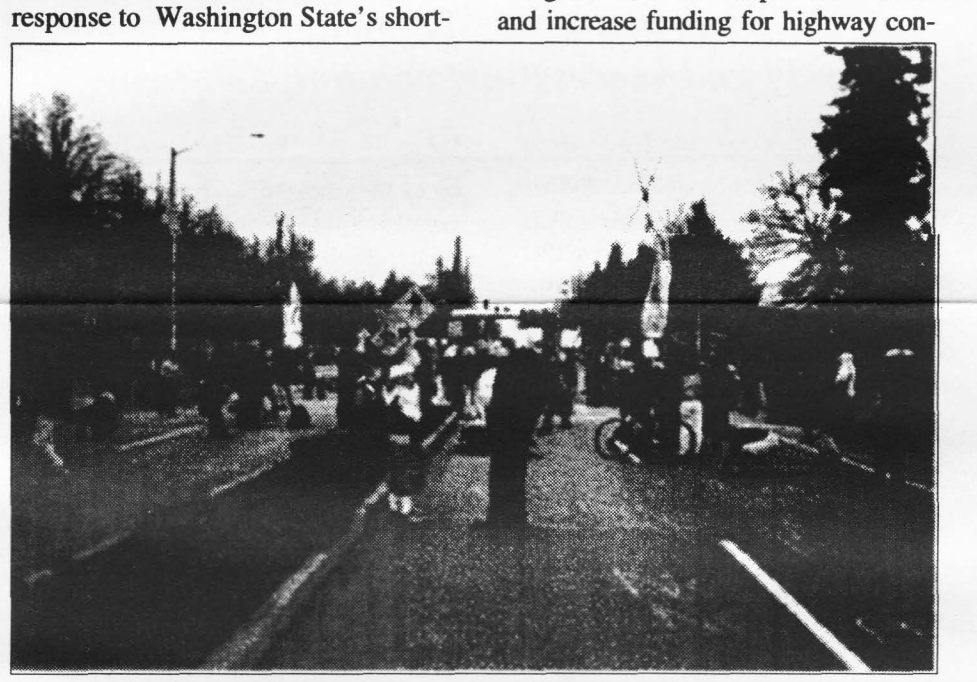
At 10:00am people started filtering into Sylvester park in downtown Olympia, as the crowd swelled to several hundred, bus drivers who are being laid off spoke to an angry crowd. Over a hundred bus drivers have been laid off from Intercity Transit in Thurston Co. alone. This, along with the slashing of 42% of the routs serving the County and the elimination of all Sunday bus service, infuriated people to the point of action. At Noon the crowd took to the street in an impromptu march to the capitol where the Transit Committee, and the House Ways and Means Committee were discussing this very matter. As the march approached the capitol Activists from a hodge podge of groups sprang to action and erected two tripods blocking Capitol Way, the four lane road directly in front of the capitol dome.

Soon after the blockade was in place the Olympia Police and the Washington State Patrol appeared on the scene. The first officer tried using the same old line to get around the blockade, "there is an emergency downtown , and we have to get through. What if it were a family member being raped, and we couldn't get there." When asked why he didn't have his lights or siren on, he walked away -- I guess the emergency was not that important. Seeing the number of people on the street, they completed the road block, by staying a good distance from the protesters and directing traffic as only a cop can. Police, having no desire to confront the blockade left the tripod sitters alone, and let the street party continue with no hassles.

With the road blocked, and the police situation under control, groups of people began to break off and surround the building where the committee's were meeting. Making noise and disrupting the meetings inside, protesters voiced their disgust at the view of highways over public transit. The state patrol moved over to the building, but by this point the crowd was asked to come in and talk to some of the legislators.

In the eyes of the State and Federal Government, the term "mass transportation" means: new highways and more cars!

This action was brought about as a response to Washington State's short-sighted mass transportation policy. In the eyes of the State and Federal Government, the term "mass transportation" means: new highways and more cars! According to the WA State Dept. of Highways, um, I mean, Dept. of Transportations (DOT) 1999-2001 budget, we already spend more than 10 times the amount of taxpayer dollars on highways as we do on our bus systems. The passage of initiative 695, which eliminated the Motor Vehicle Excise Tax (a progressive tax on cars), resulted in the loss of 1.2 billion in revenue from the DOT budget. The Legislature's response has been to cut funding for the programs that have historically received the least amount of DOT funding, that being: buses, ferries and public rest areas and increase funding for highway construction! We feel that all of this is entirely unacceptable.



The Olympia community is responding with direct action of all kinds. In addition to the blockade of Capitol Way, local activists have started the Oly Free Bus. After the loss of all Sunday service from IT, the Free Bus is now the only public transit available on Sundays. We now have four volunteer drivers, covering a combination of scheduled routes and on-call service. One of our vehicles is a wheelchair lift equipped van, so the Free Bus is accessible to everyone. Relying entirely on donations, we have gotten an incredible amount of support from the community.

Equally incredible is the variety of stories we hear from our passengers. In spite of diversity of our riders, they all have one thing in common: their lives have been negatively impacted by I-695. Some of our riders depend on us for a ride to the free dinner, some can't get to work without us, and some would just be stuck at home with no way to get out into the community.

Even though we all scored a major victory in shutting down the WTO, we realize that there is still a lot of work to do right here in our own neighborhoods. Before any direct action could take place, many hours were spent flyering on buses, talking to the bus drivers, and meeting with people who's lives depend on public transit. Actually, organizing with disabled people, wobblies, and regular working class folks, was the most satisfying part of the roadblock action. And now the Free Bus gives us an opportunity to continue our organizing work. We are literally helping to mobilize the working class, the homeless, disabled people, all those who suffer the most under the corporate exploitation of resources and people. This is the absolute last thing that America wants to see or deal with.

Call the Alliance for Public Transportation/ Oly Free Bus at (360) 236-7454 to send a donation, volunteer, or just get info. To get a ride on the Free Bus, call (360) 789-3614 (Sundays only)

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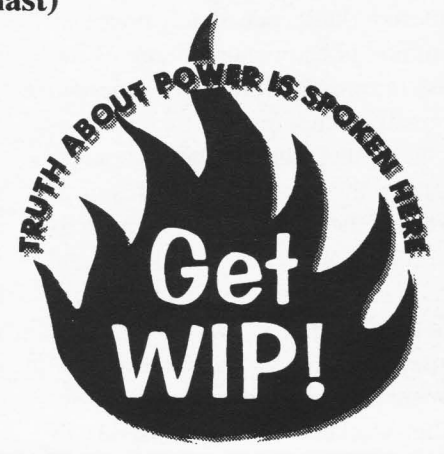

Eyewitness report from the IMF/World Bank Protests

This Is What Democracy Looks Like

Amber Gallup

I and many other No Sweat! members just got back from the IMF/World Bank protests in Washington D.C. All of us have our own impressions, feelings and thoughts on our weekend. I certainly don't mean to represent everybody's opinion here, but I would like to share mine with you, especially concerning certain aspects of the weekend which mainstream press has not adequately covered so far.

In the Washington Post, New York Times, USA Today, and other AP stories I have read since Sunday, disturbance of the downtown D.C. area and clashes with police have been headlining stories. Almost every news photo I have seen in the papers involves some aspect of violence - protesters wearing gas masks, an officer with a club beating an activist, an anarchist under a police horse's hooves. Other stories noted the fact that part of D.C. was closed on Monday so that government employees couldn't attend work. Others quoted World Bank officials disputing activist claims or highlighted the "failure" of the demonstrations and actions to shut down the financial bodies' meetings.

It is clear that our claims about the IMF and World Bank are valid and corroborated by the history of the institutions and the current state of the world's poor and the environment, widening gaps between the rich and the destitute, worldwide governmental cuts in education and health care, the rise in sweatshops . . .even increased spread of AIDS in developing nations . . . can be traced in part, both directly and indirectly, to the Bank's and the Fund's policies. In fact, this information is all so well-documented and accessible that even it is not the real news story that should come from this weekend - it's hardly news.

The real story from this weekend is the character and dynamics of a nascent movement. The real story is deep, self-conscious celebration and appreciation of a common humanity that the thousands of protesters reveled in throughout every moment of every day. The real story is NOT that these activists are trying to tear down an old world order — embodied this time in the Bank and the Fund — but that they are actively and successfully creating and living a new one.

Most descriptions of protesters, and certainly many of the arguments I heard from people I helped to block out of the IMF building on Sunday focus on how "strange" they are....the way they look, dress, speak, behave. They are marginal, and perhaps partly arising out of a fear of people they don't understand (obviously a common phenomenon among us humans), the press and others feel a need to marginalize them further, treat them as the other, either mocking them or merely tolerating them with a wry, resigned smirk, as if they were oddities in a circus or wild animals in a zoo. If they could come to terms with this fear and put it aside to judge fairly, they would open themselves to a new experience and experiment in love and democracy.

This weekend I saw thousands of people, with no central decision-making hierarchy, pull off beautifully orchestrated collective actions of civil disobedience. Affinity groups of 5 to 25 people formed clusters with other groups, sent delegates to long meetings, kept in touch with each other at all times via cell phones and bike messengers and word of mouth passed from one group to another as they met in the street. I saw thousands of people so dedicated to consensus decision-making that they would spend all night in a circle talking rather than vote over the opinions of a minority — and it worked. Even in the middle of mass actions, as thousands locked arms and surrounded the IMF building, the spokespeople of affinity groups met, and dispensed messengers who walked among all the lines, soliciting opinions from small groups, building consensus for the next stage of the current endeavor. I saw techniques in action that had been developed and consensed upon to keep large groups communicating — hand signals, chants, rituals.

"The real story is NOT that these activists are trying to an old world order – embodied this time in the Bank and the Fund – but that they are actively and successfully creating and living a new one."

Democracy and nonviolence and love were principles, at once spoken and unspoken, that informed every move they made. And it wasn't that they didn't recognize or even demonstrate other tendencies of human nature - hierarchy, violence, anger, peer pressure, insensitivity - these were all there. But there was a deep recognition of our common humanity, our tendency toward these behaviors/emotions, and they had non-violent, socially-agreed upon techniques of handling these situations in a loving and transcendent way.

Once, during a long hot meeting in a church basement, as hundreds of young activists struggled to form consensus on a course for Monday's actions, a man became angry at the facilitator and began to yell. Immediately the assembled crowd groaned and quietly hissed its disapproval. The man did not lower his voice, and chants of "nonviolence" and "respect" could be heard throughout the basement. Still the man did not lower his voice, and suddenly (it seemed to me to be almost immediate and simultaneous) the hundreds assembled began to sing one beautiful musical note. The man swallowed his anger, the singing stopped, and the meeting was able to continue through to consensus. There were hundreds of people in the room, no one responded to his anger with more anger, no one raised their voice in response, no one overrode his opinion as the meeting progressed....just his method of communicating it, which had been out of sync with the principles that he and his comrades were operating from and were in struggle to uphold and propagate in the world. They acknowledged his common humanity and dealt with it with love, respect, and firm dedication to the needs of the many.

In this movement, everyone is fit to govern. Methods such as these may seem strange and even silly to many of us, but they worked, and they were truly representative, truly patient, truly democratic, and hence deserve careful consideration and respect. I had never seen democracy in action like I saw it this weekend and it is a lesson we as a country could learn a lot from. There are a lot more impressions that I could share with you, one surprise (strange that it should have been a surprise to me, but it was) was the warmth with which we were met by the ordinary people in D. C. We were certainly treated with contempt by many of the delegates and business people kept out of their jobs on Sunday and Monday, but we were thanked and fussed over and treated with affection by the line workers in cafeterias, the immigrants having coffee in the Ethiopian restaurant, the working and non-working poor in the part of town in which we had our convergence center, the woman in the subway who had been a "radical herself" in the 1960's.

Unlike the monied elites we confronted in the papers and during the blockade, these people treated us like we were on their side and represented hope, which I think, indeed, we were and we did. I was touched by the reception. I enjoyed being part of the thousands that milled through the city that weekend, who everyone recognized by the way we were dressed and the conversations we had. I enjoyed sitting down in the Metro next to someone reading about the "invasion of the protesters" on the front page of the Post, and getting a sideways glance. I enjoyed the dignity that my work afforded me during those days. We were there to side with the poor, to use our civil rights to help others claim theirs, to shut down those meetings that, through undemocratic secrecy and irresponsible unresponsiveness to the opinion of those affected, had helped lead to the suffering of so many and to the amassing of huge wealth by a few.

One of our chants during the blockade was, "This is what democracy looks like! This is what democracy sounds like!" and this chant came to encapsulate my experience for me. No matter what you might think of the of the protesters, their image, their behavior, and their message, they definitely know what democracy is and how to live it. As I said, there are a lot more impressions I could go into now, negative and positive, but I've tried to convey two or three of the strongest of them that come to my mind so shortly after the event. I hope we can use some of the lessons that we learned in D.C. to make our movement for social change stronger. Ultimately it will be in our small towns and cities, in our families and in our friendship groups, that the this change plays itself out, D.C. and experiences like it are just staging grounds for mass display of the revolution in consciousness that goes on all around the country (and the world) among small groups of committed people.

IMF, World Bank Demonstrators Subject to Widespread Police Abuse

Reports of peaceful protesters beaten by police and U.S. Marshals, denied food and water and stripped of their basic constitutional rights give the lie to early accounts of police restraint during massive protests against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

*** Detainees have deen denied food, water, toilets, medical attention, and access to lawyers.**

***One instance was reported of an interrogator posing as a member of the Midnight Special Legal Collective, the volunteer lawyers representing the activists.**

*** One non-violent protester had 3 ribs broken when he was arrested.**

*** Another protester was beaten in the face and then loaded into a patrol wagon, leaving a pool of blood in the street. A police official told the drivers not to offload him at the jail but to drive him around for several hours, and then to drop him off near a hospital.**

*** At midnight on Monday, many activists still reported being denied food and water. Some were arrested at 4 AM, 20 hours earlier. Rachel Weber, a recent Harvard graduate from Boston, watched as one woman in her cell, who has hypoglycemia, began to throw up from lack of food. Police denied repeated requests for food or medical assistance.**

*** One group of men was taken into a basement, put into a cage, and told by a U.S. Marshall, "There are no cameras here. We can do whatever we want." Anyone who looked up while the Marshall was speaking was punched in the face.**

*** Another activist saw a U.S. Marshalls slam people's faces into a wall.**

*** Jennifer Kirby, a housing advocate from Washington D.C., was part of a group of activists who took over an abandoned home to protest unfair evictions and social service cuts in the District of Columbia. "The police came in and dragged us out of the house. As the police dragged the last person out of the house, one officer was kicking him and saying 'stop attacking my foot' and then all the police slammed him against a wall, saying 'stop attacking the wall.' They dragged him into a six-inch deep puddle and left him in it got five minutes while they kicked him," said Kirby.**

*** Officers also used a variety of abusive tactics to pit activists in Jail against each other and to break Jail Solidarity, cooperation between activists designed to ensure fair treatment by police.**

*** Black Echo a spectator at the arraignment of several hundred activists, heard the presiding commissioner Ringelle imply that if activists did not cooperate he would place them with the general jail population, where they they would be raped. "He told us, 'For a day or a week or a month [Jail] is not a pleasant place. People get sodomized. The inmates run the D.C. Prison.' In the prison, the weak are preyed upon," said Black Echo.**

*** Another group of activists was also threatened with incarceration with the general population, and told "they love to kill white boys over there, you pussy-faggot protesters."**

*** Detainees are taken into solitary confinement and lied to, told that they are the last ones in jail, that they won't be released before their court date in July, that they have no rights.**

The Midnight Special Law Collective is asking all concerned to call as many of the following numbers to help them in their efforts to gain justice. Giving no names, express concern that detainees were abused, and demand justice. All area codes are 202.

DC Mayors office: 727-2980
DC Chief of Staff: 727-2643
DC Public Advocate: 673-4421
Dept. of Correction: 673-7316
DC Chief Judge: 879-2770
DC Executive Officer: 879-1700

The Structural Adjusment Programs Imposed by the IMF & the World Bank Are Hitting the U.S. too!

Adjusting America

Anuradha Mittal

There is enough evidence on how policies of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have come to connote colonialism and a dominating world capitalist system for the Third World. The unregulated flow of global capital has placed the fate of developing economies at the mercy of Wall Street traders. However, nations of the South are not the only victims of this process. There is also a "South" in the North – right here in the United States, that is being harmed by domestic policies of the U.S. government, such as the Contract With America and the welfare reform. These policies are part of the same package of policies imposed by the World Bank and the IMF on developing countries.

With the rise of "neoliberalism" on a worldwide scale, the Third World countries have faced rampant privatization and the removal of barriers to trade via structural adjustment programs imposed by the World Bank and the IMF. In the U.S., supply-side economics, or Reaganomics, have continued unimterrupted under the Bush and Clinton administrations. In England it was called "Thatcherism" but has continued virtually uninterrupted under the "new Labor" government. Regardless of where it has taken place, the onslaught has been remarkably similar: debts and deficits accumulated through military overspending and tax cuts to the rich are being repaid on the backs of the poor, women, immigrants, people of color and workers.

Though a triumphant view dominates media coverage of the U.S. economy, never before have poor working families been forced to wage their daily struggles amid pervasive chatter about unprecedented prosperity. In both rich and poor nations, dislocations from economic and corporate restructuring, and from dismantling the institutions of social protection, have resulted in greater insecurity in jobs and incomes.

The Third Worldization of America

The double squeeze by corporate America and a U.S. government catering to corporate interest, has forced Americans to give back quite a bit. For example:

* Despite glowing media reports on our booming economy, as estimated 46 million Americans, nearly 17% of the population, live below the poverty line.
* The top 2.7 million people have as much income as the bottom 100 million. In other words, the richest 1 percent of Americans is projected to have as much income as the bottom 38 percent. Wealth is even more concentrated, with the wealthiest 1 percent of households owning nearly 40 percent of the nations wealth. To further widen this inequality, CEOs of U.S. corporations pocketed 419 times the average wage of a blue collar worker in 1998.
* According to the Report on Household Food Security put out by the USDA in 1999, an estimated 36 million Americans in 10.5 million households do not have access to adequate food.
* The strong economy, celebrated by the administration, is not reducing hunger because even though more households are in the workforce, their take-home pay is not enough to feed their families. A full-time worker at minimum wage earns $9,512 a year. For a family of four, that puts the family income well below the federal poverty line of $17,072.
* A survey of 26 cities released in December 1999 by the U.S. Conference of Mayors shows that hunger and homelessness has grown unabated, despite an expanding national economy. Among the 2 key findings of the 1999 Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in Americas cities was that demand for emergency food related assistance during 1999 grew at the highest level since 1992 (18 percent over the previous year), and demand for emergency housing-related assistance grew at the highest level since 1994. 21 percent of requests for food are estimated to have gone unmet.
* The government has responded to this crisis by passing legislation such as welfare reform which has resulted in 11 million families, including 8 million with children, losing their income. This happened when total federal spending for food programs before welfare reform was only 2.5 percent of the federal budget. More than half of the $54 billion in welfare cuts are coming from food stamps that 25 million poor Americans depended upon. Over 80 percent of food stamps go to families with children. This has resulted in increased hunger.
* In 1997, Second Harvest, the country's largest chain of food banks, provided food for almost 26 million people, nearly 10 percent of America's population. Even then it had to turn away 2.3 million people. To compensate fully for the government cuts, each of the 350,000 churches in the U.S. would have to contribute an additional $150,000 and many churches do not have a budget this big. To make up for the shortfall, the non-profit sector would have to distribute a total of 24.5 billion pounds of food over the next 6 years, four times more then the current distribution and enough to fill 5 million Army National Guard Trucks.
* The number of Americans who lack health insurance continues to increase, climbing to 44.3 million in spite of a prosperous economy.
* An estimated 7 to 8 million Americans are homeless.
* In the Unites States approximately 20.7% of the population age 16 to 65 is functionally illiterate, the majority of whom are low-paid workers such as farm workers, domestic workers and other who labor long hours in low-paying jobs.

"Today the United States has the highest rate of child poverty among the industrialized countries."

Indeed, structural adjustment Washington-style is giving the U.S. a Third World appearance: rising poverty, widespread homelessness, greater inequality and social polarization. But perhaps it is the state of children that most starkly captures the Third Worldization of America. Today the United States has the highest rate of child poverty among the industrialized countries, with one in every five children growing up in poverty. The number of children living at or below one-half of the poverty line increased by 426,000 between 1996 and 1997. About 20 percent of all children under the age of 18, or 14 million, live in food insecure homes.

Direct Impact of IMF/World Bank Policies on Americans

* The U.S. trade deficit has mushroomed from about $107 billion in 1990 to more than $270 billion in 1999. A study by the Institute for Policy Studies shows how World Bank/IMF policy lending has contributed to the increase of the U.S. trade deficit by prescribing currency devaluations, which make U.S. imports more expensive and by prescribing cuts in government spending, which lead to job loss and reduced purchasing power of people to buy U.S. goods.
* Although U.S. unemployment is at a record low, the fact is that U.S. imports are far outstripping exports, and has displaced U.S. jobs, particularly in the manufacturing sector. More than 530,000 U.S. manufacturing jobs were lost between March 1998 and September 1999. This is significant because manufacturing jobs, as a whole, pay better and more often offer benefits such as health insurance and pension coverage than in other industries that employ non-college graduates.
* World Bank and IMF programs have also contributed to downward pressure on U.S. wages by prescribing the lifting of controls on investment and by so-called "labor market flexibility" measures that weaken unions. These policies have contributed to the mobility of global corporations, increasing their power to bargain down wages and working conditions here in the United States. Although real wages in the United States rose slightly in 1998 and 1999, low-income workers, including large numbers of people of color and women, saw their wages erode during the decade of the 1990s. Even some globalization proponents admit that 20-25 percent of the increase in U.S. inequality may be due to import competition and employers moving (or threatening to move) to developing countries where they can take advantage of lax enforcement of worker rights.

Corporate-driven structural adjustment has triggered sever social stress and strain in both the North and the South. The U.S., after dismantling many of the social mechanisms of the New Deal state, has addressed the discontent through punitive measures. US expenditures on criminal justice have increased four times faster than the budget for education, and twice as fast as outlays on hospitals and health. Today the US has achieved the distinction of imprisoning a larger share of its population than any other nation.

To counter this wave of corporate driven structural adjustment, it is essential that we promote the common interests of the peoples of the South and the North. This entails forging, across borders, an alternative economic vision, one that brings the economy back under the control of the community, one that fosters solidarity instead of polarization idealized by market economy.

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Welfare Movement Rises

Frances Fox Piven

The federal law that gave us "welfare reform" expires in September 2002. Inevitably, Republicans and Democrats will compete to claim it a success, pointing to the fact that the number of people on public assistance rolls has plummeted to half its peak level of 1994. A closer look, however, suggests a disaster in the making. The numbers are down partly because the new law freed the states to simply slash families from the rolls, pushing poor women into any kind of work—or no work at all. At the same time, states were allowed to set up all sorts of barriers so that getting on welfare has become a herculean feat.

Even in a booming economy, the poverty rate has changed little from the last peak in the business cycle, and the poorest single-mother households have actually lost ground. What will happen when the economy slows?

The new restrictiveness is spilling over into other programs associated with welfare; millions of poor families are also losing Medicaid and food stamps, sometimes in clear violation of federal law. Meanwhile, the states are sitting on surplus federal funds that accumulate as caseloads decline. At least six states are using these funds to pay for tax cuts or general fund programs. Hardly any of the surplus is finding its way into childcare, training or education, or into transportation subsidies that might make low-wage work more manageable for poor families.

The big question is, Why the silence? Where is the protest? Where are the advocates? And where are the poor themselves? In fact, it's not as quiet as it seems. Below the radar screen of press and politicians, scores of grassroots groups are waging fights at the local and state level to expose the realities of welfare reform and the low-wage labor market. There was much less resistance when what some call "welfare deform" was legislated in 1996, perhaps because the cutbacks had been threatened for so long and the results had not yet hit home. But as the new policies began to bite, local protests emerged—over the irrationality of yanking poor women out of college to sweep the streets in abusive workfare programs or of cutting paltry cash grants to punish families for breaking any of the new and mindless rules that welfare departments are generating.

"Below the radar screen of press and politicians, scores of grassroots groups are waging fights at the local and state level to expose the realities of welfare reform and the low-wage labor market."

Grassroots organizations are not just waging a low-intensity war of resistance. They are also promoting model policies that might lay the groundwork for a new national legislative agenda, including expanded health insurance, childcare subsidies, public jobs programs and living-wage ordinances. In New York City, Community Voices Heard and other low-income groups pushed through a public jobs bill over Mayor Giuliani's veto, and in California, ACORN is close to winning a public jobs commitment from Los Angeles County. The Maine Association of Independent Neighborhoods and its partners won the Parents as Scholars program, which allows college attendance to count as work while "stopping the clock" for women in school. Such initiatives have also succeeded elsewhere, and Washington State's Welfare Rights Organizing Coalition is fighting for similar reforms. In Rhode Island, Ocean State Action Fund had a breakthrough victory in 1998 with the first expansion of the Medicaid program, giving a greater number of poor parents eligibility for health insurance; since then, nearly a dozen states have followed suit. And organizations affiliated with the Gamaliel Foundation grassroots network have won model transportation policies throughout the Midwest, increasing mobility, income and opportunity for low-income families.

There are signs that these local efforts are coalescing into a national movement, prodded by the prospect of a renewed Congressional debate over welfare reform. Thanks in part to the Internet, local groups have been communicating with one another from the start of this new fight, and now organizations from sixty-five cities and thirty-five states have joined the National Campaign for Jobs and Income Support, a coalition led by low-income women and men (to join: www.nationalcampaign.org).

The campaign is advancing a first-things-first agenda, calling for restoration of the federal income-security system (including benefits for immigrants) and better wages and supports for low-wage workers, including guaranteed healthcare and childcare. A founding convention in Chicago on May 6 is bringing together more than 1,000 delegates to announce the coalition in meetings and on the streets—and to plan a series of campaigns to change the national debate. The idea is to expand and publicize the local and state work that has already been going on, drawing in more grassroots groups and developing alliances with other progressives.

Now may be the right time for poor people to re-enter national politics. A multifaceted movement seems to be emerging to challenge the corporate-reactionary alliance that has dominated the United States for the past two decades. The poor pay the heaviest price for that domination. They should be in the lead of the movement that dislodges it.

To get involved with the struggle for welfare/low income people rights in Olympia, call the Welfare Rights Organizing Coalition at (360) 352-9716.

WP I-735
Privacy More than Profit

Eric Thomason

Your Social Security number can be bought for $45.00, your insurance company can share your medical information with your employer, and large corporations are buying and selling your financial information. Your privacy seems to be vanishing.

Help is on the way in the form of Initiative 735: a ballot measure demanding that the corporate special interest groups get our permission before buying and selling our personal information. I-735 will have the United States watching Washington State, as it becomes a battleground for individual and consumer privacy versus corporate greed.

J.R. Baker, an Evergreen graduate and I-735's author, says we are losing a bit of ourselves through the loss of privacy everyday, and with newtechnology it will only get worse. Baker doesn't aim to end information sharing, just unauthorized sharing. He wants businesses to inform consumers/citizens and get their approval before collecting and using information about us. "We can regain control only by forcing businesses to get our permission first," says Baker. "We will no longer tolerate the hijacking our personal information."

There are two other initiatives. Both are initiatives to the legislature, rather than the people, and are sponsored by politicians, Sen. Margarita Prentice, D-Seattle, and Rep. Brian Sullivan, D-Tacoma. (Sullivan originally filed an initiative of the people, but recently refiled it as an initiative to the legislature.) If either collect enough signatures, then the legislature will consider them next year. Both are also aimed at businesses getting consumer approval to restrict the transfer of personal information. Sullivan's, however, is limited to the banking and insurance industries, and Prentice's, though somewhat broader,excludes "financial institutions, including commercial banks and credit unions," according to a recent Wall Street Journal article.

Baker's ballot measure is tougher and broader, which is expected to draw fire from the large corporations that profit most from selling customer's information. Baker expects them to pour huge sums of money during the next several months to defeat his ballot measure.

By this year's end a new federal law will allow the insurance companies, the banking industry, and the money mangers to share our information. Baker thinks the only way to protect our private information is to take the issue to the people. He points to this yearÆs legislature, which consideredmuch weaker privacy bills that were squashed by the deep- pocketedcorporations, who seem to oppose just about any law containing the word 'privacy'. Undoubtedly, the big money corporations will target Baker with a vengeance.

His ballot measure, dubbed the PrivacyOverProfit initiative, has only until July 7 to collect the needed signatures to get it on the November ballot. Prentice and Sullivan has until late December to garner the needed signatures to take their initiatives back to the Legislature, which is expected to send it to the people in 2001.

Baker, a communications consultant who recently moved from Olympia to Bainbridge, aims at restoring the balance between the quest for profit and respect for our privacy. "No longer can they rely on us to saying, 'No!" says Baker. "Rather, they must entice us to say 'Yes.'" An initiative to the people is the people's way of doing things our elected officials aren't always capable of. When it comes to privacy everybody wants it, but we are slowly losing it and from now until July 7, and then November, is your chance to do something about it.

The I-735 website is www.privacyoverprofit.com if you are interested in lending your support or want to learn more about the issue.

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Democracy is Direct

Cindy Milstein

These days, words seem to be thrown around like so much loose change. *Democracy* is no exception.

We hear demands to "democraticize" the World Bank, IMF, and WTO. Some contend that "democracy" is the standard for good government. Others allege that "more," "better," or even "participatory democracy" is the needed antidote to our woes. At the heart of these well-intentioned but misguided sentiments beats a genuine desire: to gain control over our lives.

This is certainly understandable given the world in which we live. Anonymous, often distant events and institutions—nearly impossible to describe, much less confront—determine whether we work, drink clean water, or have a roof over our heads. Most people feel that life isn't what it should be; many go so far as to complain about "the government" or "corporations." But beyond that, the sources of social misery are so masked they may even look friendly: the Ben & Jerry's ice cream cone of "caring" capitalism or the "humanitarian" gestures of Western superpowers.

Even much of the Left can see no other "realistic" choices to control an out-of-control world than those that are presented to us from on high. Given this, the leftist horizon narrows to what's allegedly achievable: NGO or Two-Thirds World participation in international decision-making bodies; accountability and openness in nation-states; the rectification of the wrongs of capitalism. These and other such demands are bare minimums within the current system. Yet they are a far cry from any sort of liberatory response. They work with a circumscribed and neutralized notion of democracy, where "democracy" is neither of the people, by the people, nor for the people, but rather, only in the supposed name of the people. What gets dubbed "democracy," then, is mere representation, and the best that progressives and leftists can advocate for within the confines of this prepackaged definition are *improved* versions of a fundamentally flawed system.

"The moment a people gives itself representatives, it is no longer free," famously proclaimed Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *On the Social Contract.* Freedom, particularly social freedom, is indeed utterly anthetical to a state, even a representative one. At the most basic level, representation "asks" that we give our freedom away to another; it assumes, in essence, that some should have power and many others shouldn't. Without power, equally distributed to all, we renounce our very capacity to join with everyone else in meaningfully shaping our society. We renounce our ability to self-determine, and thus our liberty. And so, no matter how enlightened leaders may be, they are governing as tyrants nonetheless, since we—"the people"—are servile to their decisions.

This is not to say that representative government is comparable with more authoritarian forms of rule. A representative system that fails in its promise of, say, universal human rights is clearly preferable to a government that makes no such pretensions at all. Yet even the kindest of representative systems necessarily entails a loss of liberty. Like capitalism, a grow-or-die imperative is built into the state's very structure. As Karl Marx explained in *Capital,* capitalism's aim is—in fact, has to be—"the unceasing movement of profit-making." So, too, is there such an aim underlying the state: the unceasing movement of power making. The drive for profit and the drive for power, respectively, must become ends in themselves. For without these drives, we have neither capitalism nor the state; these "goals" are part of their body constitution. Hence, the two often interlinked systems of exploitation and domination must do whatever is necessary to sustain themselves, otherwise they are unable to fulfill their unceasing momentum.

> ***"Direct democracy...is completely at odds with both the state and capitalism. And freedom, as we have seen, must be jettisoned in even the best of representative systems."***

... all states are forced to strive for a monopoly on power. "The same competition," wrote Mikhail Bakunin in *Statism and Anarchism,* "which in the economic field annihilates and swallows up small and even medium-sized capital . . . in favor of vast capital . . . is also operative in the lives of the States, leading to the destruction and absorption of small and medium-sized States for the benefit of empires." States must, as Bakunin noted, "devour others in order not to be devoured." Such a power-taking game will almost invariably tend toward centralization, hegemony, and increasingly sophisticated methods of command, coercion, and control. Plainly, in this quest to monopolize power, there will always have to be dominated subjects.

As institutionalized systems of domination, then, neither state nor capital are controllable. Nor can they be mended or made benign. Thus, the rallying cry of any kind of leftist or progressive activism that accepts the terms of the nation-state and/or capitalism is ultimately only this: "No exploitation without representation! No domination without representation!"

Direct democracy, on the other hand, is completely at odds with both the state and capitalism. For as "rule of the people" (the etymological root of *democracy*), democracy's underlying logic is essentially the unceasing movement of freedom making. And freedom, as we have seen, must be jettisoned in even the best of representative systems.

Not coincidentally, direct democracy's opponents have generally been those in power. Whenever "the people" spoke—as in the majority of those who were disenfranchised, disempowered, or even starved—it usually took a revolution to work through a "dialogue" about democracy's value. As a direct form of governance, therefore, democracy can be nothing but a threat to those small groups who wish to rule over others: whether they be monarchs, aristocrats, dictators, or even federal administrations as in the United States.

Indeed, we forget that democracy finds its radical edge in the great revolutions of the past, the American Revolution included. As we gather in D.C., it seems particularly appropriate to hearken to those strains of a radicalized democracy that fought so valiantly and lost so crushingly in the American Revolution. We need to take up that unfinished project if we have any hope of contesting domination itself.

This does not mean that the numerous injustices tied to the founding of the United States should be ignored or whitewashed. The fact that native peoples, blacks, women, and others were (and often continue to be) excluded, brutalized, and/or exploited wasn't just a sideshow to the historic event that created this country. Any movement for direct democracy has to grapple with the relation between this oppression and the liberatory moments of the American Revolution.

At the same time, one needs to view the revolution in the context of its times and ask, In what ways was it an advance? Did it offer glimpses of new freedoms, ones that we should ultimately extend to everyone? Like all the great modern revolutions, the American Revolution spawned a politics based on face-to-face assemblies confederated within and between cities.

"American democratic polity was developed out of genuine community life. . . . The township or some not much larger area was the political unit, the town meeting the political medium, and roads, schools, the peace of the community, were the political objectives," according to John Dewey in *The Public and Its Problems.* This outline of self-governance did not suddenly appear in 1776. It literally arrived with the first settlers, who in being freed from the bonds of Old World authority, decided to constitute the rules of their society anew in the Mayflower Compact. This and a host of other subsequent compacts were considered mutual promises—of both rights and duties—on the part of each person to their community, a promise initially emanating out of newfound egalitarian religious values. The idea caught on, and many New England villages drafted their own charters and institutionalized direct democracy through town meetings, where citizens met regularly to determine their community's public policy and needs.

We have inherited this self-schooling in direct democracy, even if only in vague echoes like New Hampshire's "live free or die" motto or Vermont's yearly Town Meeting Day. Such institutional and cultural fragments, however, bespeak deep-seated values that many in the United States still hold dear: independence, initiative, liberty, equality. They continue to create a very real tension between grassroots self-governance and top-down representation—a tension that we, as modern-day revolutionaries, need to build on.

The revolutionary question becomes: Where do decisions that affect society as a whole get made? For this is where power resides. It is time we opened the doors of that house to everyone. For only when we all have equal and ongoing access to participate in the space where public policy is made—the political sphere—will freedom have a fighting chance to gain a footing.

If freedom is the social aim, power must be held horizontally. We must all be both rulers and ruled simultaneously, or a system of rulers and subjects is the only alternative. We must all hold power equally in our hands if freedom is to coexist with power. Freedom, in other words, can only be maintained through a sharing of political power, and this sharing happens through political institutions. Rather than being made a monopoly, power should be distributed to us all, thereby allowing all our varied "powers" (of reason, persuasion, decision making, and so on) to blossom. This is the power to create rather than dominate.

As a practice, direct democracy will have to be learned. As a principle, it will have to undergird all decision making. As an institution, it will have to be fought for. It will not appear magically overnight. Rather, it will emerge little by little out of struggles to, as Murray Bookchin phrased it, "democratize the republic, radicalize our democracy."

We must infuse all our political activities with politics. It is time to call for a second American Revolution, but this time, one that breaks the bonds of nation-states, one that knows no borders or masters, and one that draws the potentiality of libertarian self-governance to its limits, fully enfranchising all with the power to act democratically. This begins with reclaiming the word *democracy* itself—not as a better version of representation but as a radical process to directly remake our world.

Cindy Milstein is with the Institute for Social Ecology.

From Madisonian Plutocracy to Direct Democracy

Jeff Sowers

The recent protests against the policies of the WTO, IMF and World Bank are historic. Not only for what they represent in terms of growing awareness and opposition to a fundamentally unjust global economic order, but in the burgeoning sense of genuine democracy that is taking place within the movement culture. What might these lessons have to say about "democracy" within the context of our government - local, state and national? Will they lead to a realization that we do not live in a democracy, and to a vision of what genuine democracy might look like on a societal scale?

The underlying institutional structure that supports and sustains the institutions of global capitalism is the anti-democratic political system of "elected representative government" that the corporations use to rule the U.S. and the world. This is sometimes called "Madisonian democracy" or "representative democracy" or "in-direct democracy." In fact, the Madisonian System it is not any kind of democracy, but a system of elites, by elites, for elites. It is plutocracy. So long as we are content to operate within this elitist system, elites will continue to rule.

There is a clear, powerful, socially transforming alternative. This is genuine democracy, or what is often called "direct democracy." In a genuine democracy citizens do not hand over all their power to elites in periodic and ritualistic elections. In a direct democracy, people discuss, learn about, and directly vote for the laws and policies which shape our society and world.

Elites, for obvious reasons, assert that this isn't possible, that it is too dangerous, and that the people are too stupid. Yet the very opposite is true. It is possible, it can save our planet from the scourge of corporate rule, and the people can do it. What is more, a strong existing majority supports it and wants it to happen.

Initiative and referendum(I&R) currently exists in 24 states thanks to the populist movement that led the way to establishing I&R in the early 20th century. But while I&R points the way, and has been used to pass important progressive laws, they are crude and weak institutions compared with what is possible. By building strong, robust, and deliberative democratic institutions, we can firmly subordinate elected representative government, and thus subordinate the corporations that rule us.

What might these strong institutions of democracy look like? At their core they involve citizens in initiating and voting directly on the most important laws and polices we face at all levels of government, from local to global. Around this core are supporting structures intended to maximize deliberation and education. This includes substantial support for understanding issues, accessing expert opinion, and assistance in drafting legislation and policy; small neighborhood discussion groups; and televised local and state "citizen's assemblies" where citizens come together, face to face, to debate, discuss, and initiate legislation.

"So long as we are content to operate within this elitist system, elites will continue to rule."

Despite what elites would have us believe, such institutions are possible, we can build them, and by doing so we can end corporate and elite dominance and transform our society and world into a true democracy. The results of this will be that progressive activists will be able to succeed in their goal of creating a just and environmentally sustainable global economy that can preserve the Earth and the miracle of life for all future generations.

Where should we begin the effort to build strong, deliberative direct democracy institutions?

The central instrument of non-violent social revolution is the "initiative", the most fundamental form of direct democracy. The initiative allows citizens to place laws, including constitutional amendments, on a ballot by collecting signatures on a petition, and it can be used to alter our form of government, and democratize out society. It is possible to begin this revolution now because there already exists majority support for democracy. People want to be empowered. All that is missing is the activists to draft and sponsor the initiatives to make the transformation happen.

Rather than asking the public to support a dramatic and uncertain revolution, we should ask people to take incremental steps of increasing empowerment until we have brought the transformation from Madisonian Plutocracy to Direct Democracy to its natural completion. As we move forward the steps will become increasingly easier as we ourselves become empowered by the democratic institutions that are created. The complete transformation will require a series of initiatives. Each initiative will build on the one before, and in this way we can, step by step, initiative by initiative, build and strengthen institutions of democracy to the point where representative government plays a subordinate, servile role.

Even as these institutions are being built, progressive activists will be able to use the newly created democratic powers to challenge and defeat the laws and policies imposed on our society and world by the corporations, and abolish the institutions that perpetrate those polices, like the WTO, IMF and World bank. And in their place, new comprehensive laws and policies can be drafted and enacted that will build alternative international institutions that can honestly work for world peace, justice, and environmental sustainability.

All of this is possible because this is what most people want. All we have to do is empower the people to make it happen. This means we, as dedicated activists, have to work out the detailed proposals, educate the people as to the realities, and allow the people to vote the proposals into law.

This will be possible on innumerable issues. Each small group advancing its "specialty" issue will be tremendously empowered within the context of robust democratic institutions. If what we propose is in the public interest, it will succeed, whether it is a fair sustainable local and global economy, world peace, universal health care, high quality education, an end to nuclear powered weapons in space, to sweatshops, hunger and poverty, the drug war, and imperialistic, anti-democratic foreign policy.

This is not to say that the people are perfect. There will always be a need for dedicated progressive activists to lead the public. But where in the context of Madisonian Plutocracy activists cannot hope to end elite dominance, but only to react to it, in the context of Direct Democracy, activists can defeat corporate dominance and build new, more humane institutions in its place.

To find out more about Direct Democracy visit OCAD's website at www.olywa.net/ocad.

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An Invitation to Participate

WORKS IN PROGRESS (WIP) is a community newspaper sponsored and created by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Originally established in 1990 to counter the influence of the local Gannett newspaper, WIP, throughout its existence, has been successful in bringing issues and positions to the community that have been ignored by the local Gannett press. From the story exposing the state's hiring of out-of-state scab construction labor to stories of local police abuses of power, Works In Progress has continually printed working class experiences and concerns.

WIP's primary purpose is to create and maintain a platform from which people can speak. People are encouraged to write their own articles in their own voices. It is a philosophy of WIP that no one can do a better job writing about an issue than those who are directly effected, and WIP does not believe in the existence of "unbiased" journalism. No resumes or journalism skills are required! Articles that people send in from this community are its life blood.

WIP encourages organizations and individuals to experiment in different manners of conveying their messages. Articles written in first person have generally been very effective. Interviews, also, have been very popular. Photos and artwork or other types of graphics help draw reader attention and give greater dimension to the article. If the message is a long and complex, a main article with smaller companion articles may be more useful and less confusing.

Most importantly, please understand that people are interested in hearing what is going on in our community. They want to know what other working people think and experience. Many times the articles in WIP have reached elected officials (no sitting on the sidewalk), influenced coverage by The Olympian (DNR building), provided an alternative view (Fleetwood Project) and sparked community-wide interest and attention (abuse by Olympia police officers). It's very important to write, even if it is just a short note. To not write is to depend on Gannett to tell our stories (or not) from its perspective.

WIP will provide assistance for those who think they need it. Please, when possible, put articles on a 3.5" IBM-compatible disk (text preferred) or e-mail it to us.

An Invitation to Participate

Letters

Letters are a good method of getting a message across with the least amount of effort. Just respond to whatever fired you up, pro or con and send it to WIP. (Letter writing is also a good way to get motivated in the process to write a more complete article.)

Reprinting Articles

Why reinvent the wheel? If someone else has already done a great job writing on a topic you want covered in WIP, let's reprint it. Please obtain permission from the author before sending it in. Most people we have approached have been agreeable.

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All those interested in working on the production of WIP are welcome. Production tasks include: material solicitation, selling advertising (with commission), photography, graphic design, ad designs, editing, computer layout, proofreading, transcribing and distribution. Hands-on training provided if needed.

Decision-making

Decisions need to be made on a monthly basis regarding article placement, budget, and political/ethical issues at the two main meetings in the later part of the month, the editing and proofreading meetings. It is WIP's process that the more people involved with a wide difference in life experiences, the better the decisions that are made. We encourage interested community individuals and group representatives to attend.

Solidarity

WIP is about supporting others and reporting on their activities and thoughts. If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)

You can help WIP out by helping us put the paper out either mechanically through the ways mentioned above or financially through advertising and/or subscribing. WIP only will exist as long as this community wants it to.

Alternative Meida - Education and Action in One

Douglas Makar

I would like to thank all those folks involved with the production of WIP over the last ten years. This is a resource that as a community we are absolutely blessed to have. Just to reiterate, Works in Progress is *your* paper, and you can make it whatever you want it to be.

The following is an excerpt from Chapter One of *Manufacturing Consent* by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky:

A Propaganda Model

"The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfill this role requires systematic propaganda.

In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of a dominant elite. It is much more difficult to see a propaganda system at work where the media are private and formal censorship is absent. This is especially true where the media actively compete, periodically attack and expose corporate and governmental malfeasance, and aggressively portray themselves as spokesmen for free speech and the general community interest. What is not evident (and remains undiscussed in the media) is the limited nature of such critiques, as well as the huge inequality in command of resources, and its effect both on access to a private media system and on it behavior and performance.

A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public. The essential ingredients of our propaganda modal, or set of news "filters," fall under the following headings: (1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; (2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; (3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts" funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; (4) "flak" as a means of disciplining the media; and (5) "anti-communism" as a national religion and control mechanism. These elements interact with and reinforce one another. The raw material of news must pass through successive filters, leaving only the cleansed residue fit to print. They fix the premises of discourse and interpretation, and the definition of what is newsworthy in the first place, and they explain the basis and operations of what amount to propaganda campaigns.

The elite domination of the media and marginalization of dissidents that results from the operation of these filters occurs so naturally that media news people, frequently operating with complete integrity and goodwill, are able to convince themselves that they choose and interpret the news "objectively" and on the basis of professional news values. Within the limits of the filter constraints they often are objective; the constraints are so powerful, and are built into the system in such a fundamental way, that alternative bases of news choices are hardly imaginable."

Those last few words are powerful. "Alternative bases of news choices are hardly imaginable." This book was written in 1988. Alternatives to corporate media are just beginning to gain momentum. With the capabilities of the Internet, the opening up of the radio airwaves to citizens, and the expanding opportunities within cable television, alternative media sources are becoming more accessible, more organized, and more necessary. Websites such as www.olywa.net/wip, www.indymedia.org, www.mediaisland.org, and www.a16.org, and the Direct Action Media Network are just a few examples of current alternatives to corporate media. There are pamphlets, magazines and newspapers and above all people throughout the country dedicated to education and action.

START!

Start Getting involved with W.I.P!

You read the mission statement

You appreciate the information in WIP. move ahead 2 spaces.

you recognize the value of community media... Roll again!

You Decide To subscribe to WIP. Good!

You assist with paper lay-out.

move ahead 6 spaces!

you get your favorite business to subscribe to WIP.

YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE

You take the paper to the printer GO 3 SPACES!

You take on the responsibility of distribution

MOVE THREE →

you make new friends and learn new skills. Proceed to finish!

You Decide to participate. Roll again!

YOU WRITE A LETTER TO THE W.I.P EDITOR GO AHEAD 5

You SET WIP ASIDE WITHOUT READING IT. LOSE A TURN.

You GAIN BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF AN ISSUE move ahead 1 space...

You take a photo at a rally you were at. Move ahead 4 spaces!

You donate MONEY to WIP!!! Roll Again, and Again, and again...

you attend an activists conference, but don't write WIP ANYTHING about it for W.I.P- go back 11 spaces. Yep, 11.

YOU MISS A DEADLINE go back 3 spaces

You write an article with important interviews move ahead one space.

YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE Kudos to you!

You attend a WIP meeting and catch important proof-reading. Gud jawb.

You want to Help BEHIND The scenes. GO 3 spaces!

YOUR HIGHLY DEVELOPED COMPUTER SKILLS SERIOUSLY THREATEN THE BILL GATES EMPIRE

GO TO FINISH!

You become an indispensible part of WIP and the community

You find new ways of reusing and recycling layout sheets! MOVE 3 SPACES!

You enjoy a lovely day in Shelton while WIP is printed...

You assist others to help themselves attain their goals. Proceed to the finish!

YOUR TYPING SKILLS IMPROVE! Move ahead 1

You take WIP to eager readers while finding new distribution points!!!

You Decide to participate! Roll again!

You check WIP's meeting and deadline schedule Go 1 space

GOT W.I.P?

You still set WIP aside without reading it!? GO BACK TO START!

You get friends to participate. Vote on your way to building a better community!

You meet all kinds of neat people, work hard and obtain a sense of purpose

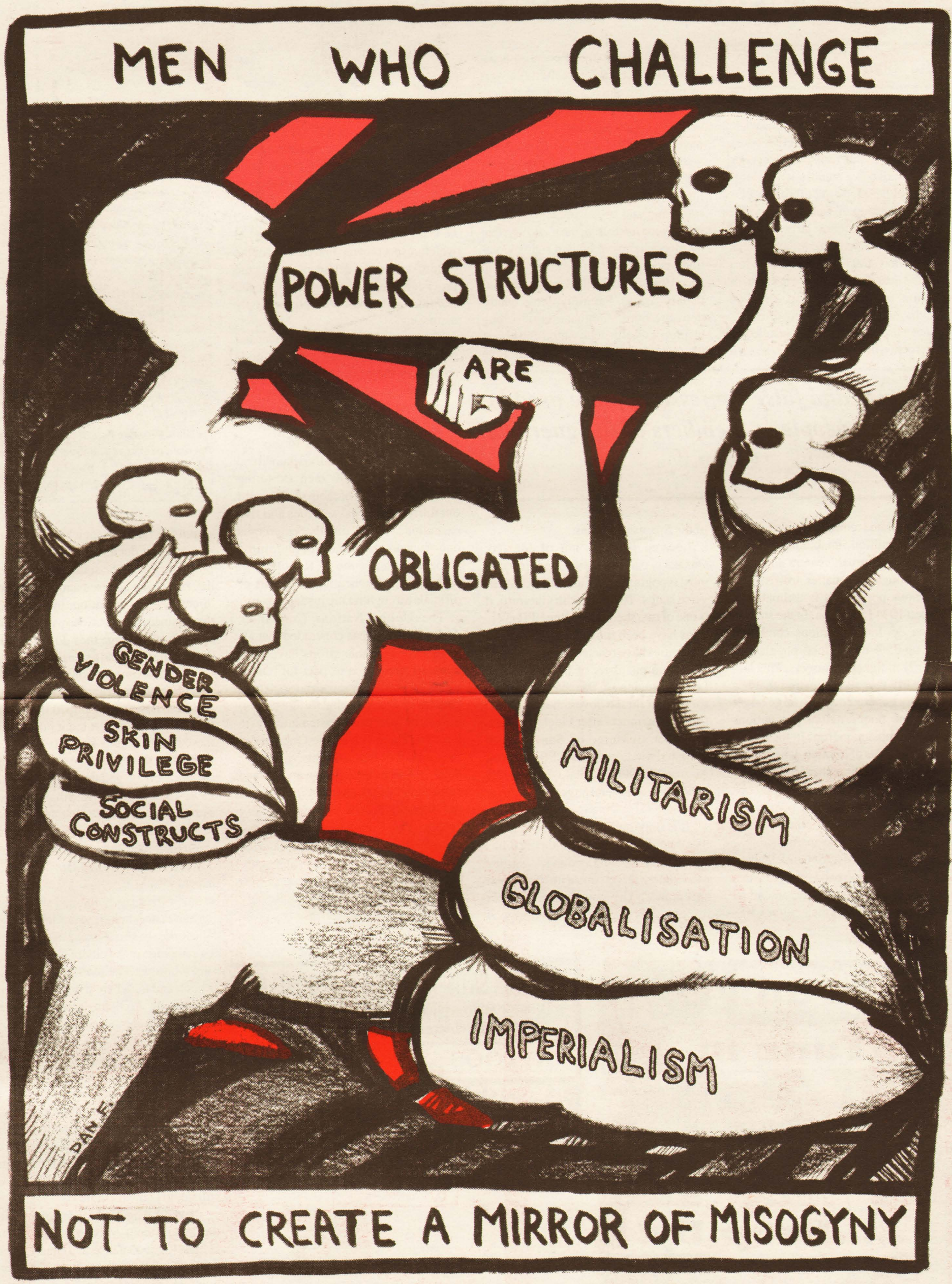
You turn in your things before the deadline. Lots of work = lots of fun.

YOU DO IT ALL AGAIN NEXT MONTH

FINISH YOU WIN!

YOU GET a graphic that compliments the article.

artwork by Chelsea Chase



Artwork by Daniel Ferrell

Loxicha, Oaxaca

Human Rights Violations

Lilia Nieto

To understand the socio-political complexities that arise from the lack of certain guarantees, we must first take a close look at the roots that generate them. Mexico is a country with a large poor population, a small middle class, and a tiny group of wealthy elite. The middle class has become larger in recent years but many have an extremely weak hold on that strata which could be lost with the next devaluation of the peso or election results. The gap between wealthy and poor has been growing. Half of Mexico's wealth is controlled by only 2 dozen family groups. It is the 11th most populated country in the world with 91.2 million inhabitants concentrated in large urban centers and scattered throughout smaller towns. The indigenous population is estimated at between 10 to 15 million. In the state of Oaxaca, 18 Indian Nations combined make up 75% of the total population, primarily indigenous farmers. This picture clearly reveals a situation that has obviously generated a very large target group; the poor native populations which are most numerous in the southernmost regions of Mexico, where 8 out of 10 people live in extreme poverty.

But poverty, discrimination and oppression are recently being openly defied by Natives who are finding ways to organize and apply pressure for changes. There are new generations of leaders that demand land, roads, services, democracy, justice, autonomy, an end to corruption, respect for their culture, traditions and language. Recently, peasants have increased forceful takeovers of numerous ranches and turned them into ejidos or community-owned cooperatives. In Chiapas, over 1700 holdings have been seized since the EZLN initiated its activities on January 1, 1994. This is but the beginning on the long journey towards change. Violations of economic and social rights, combined with a wide mistrust of the justice system by most victims of human rights violations, explains in part the emergence, in June 1996, of the EPR (Popular Revolutionary Army). Painfully, these conditions are but a continuation of a long history of wealth deprivation and unrest which has been recorded back to the time of the Spanish conquest.

"Torture and false confessions were used to implicate people as members of the guerrilla group."

Located in the south of Mexico, Oaxaca is one of Mexico's poorest and most topographically and ethnically diverse states. Together with Guerrero, it is one of two states where the EPR guerrillas have been most active and where authorities have reacted most harshly to suspected members of the group. The Loxicha region of Oaxaca became the focal point for the government's search for EPR members after Fidel Martínez, a former treasurer of San Agustín Loxicha, was killed in an EPR attack on August 28, 1996. On that same day, the EPR attacked several targets throughout Mexico.

It is important to underline that unlike the EZLN in Chiapas, the EPR has conducted periodic armed attacks against government targets since its first armed appearance. The government then, in response, developed a strategy designed to obtain information from sources at all costs. Torture and false confessions were used to implicate people as members of the guerrilla group. For the most part, neither prosecutors nor judges expressed concern about the abusive manner in which suspects came into custody or the torture suffered by detainees. In fact, the procedures used by prosecutors ranged from the highly questionable to the deeply disturbing.

On September 25, 1996 soldiers and state and federal police carried out raids leading to the arrest of eleven people from San Agustín Loxicha, including the Mayor and much of the town council. Over the following months, joint police-military operations netted further detainees. Officials arbitrarily detained and imprisoned over 150 men (torturing about one hundred of them) and carried out thirty-two illegal searches and five executions. The picture that emerges is one of uncontrolled abuse of force in the name of fighting the EPR, combined with a lack of concern on the part of officials throughout the justice system.

The United Nations Committee Against Torture has concluded that although considerable efforts have been made to strengthen respect for human rights by public servants and society in general, it is evident that torture continues to be practiced systematically in Mexico. There is a marked increase in the number of human rights violations, these include torture, disappearances and extra-judicial executions by members of the security forces and paramilitary groups. The Committee criticized the impunity benefiting perpetrators and the courts' persistence in admitting statements extracted under torture as evidence, since questionable or illegally obtained statements were used by prosecutors in building their cases. For instance, court documents confirm that a prosecutor used the statements of three detainees who accused another man of direct EPR participation, even though the detainees' declarations were made in Spanish, a language they do not speak; none of the three had a translator. This is one example among many.

The prisoners' families, women and children, have been camped in front of the sumptuous government building in the City of Oaxaca since 1997 to demand their release. All the captured men are accused of collaborating with the EPR. These women insist that the accusations are false, declaring that the police raided their houses day and night to arrest their men, then tortured them and ordered them to sign blank sheets of paper.

Their lives have changed since their husbands and fathers were jailed. The adjustment has been a road of sacrifices. To campaign in the city of Oaxaca, they stop working, take their children from school, and travel eight hours from San Agustin de Loxicha, a mountainous municipality composed of 32 communities. They camp from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., day after day, for two weeks, until a new group of families takes turn. They depend entirely on solidarity, sleep in a Union warehouse, ask for donations, sell crafts, cook and eat in the street. It's been three years that they have been living under these conditions, three years of pain and torment in a tunnel which has still yet to show its light.

Lawyers Angelica Ayala, director of the independent Mexican League for Human Rights Defense, and Israel Ochoa have taken the cases of the Loxicha political prisoners. So far they have managed to achieve the freedom of almost 50% of the men, as they, Ayala and Ochoa, have been subject to harassment, threats and robbery. But they believe that Indians are the energy that regroups and mobilizes urban and peasant social forces, fighting for changes that will benefit the whole society, thus, they continue in the struggle.

Wishing Nestora Ramirez Well

LASO and MECHA joined efforts to bring Nestora Ramirez, one of the many women who established the camp, who spoke as a representative for the Loxicha prisoners on Tuesday, April 18.

Nestora Ramirez came to visit the Northwest for a month she will be going back home on May 14. A put-luck at 5pm for Nestora will be on May 12 at the Radio Ranch (3102 8th Ave. Olympia, WA 98506).

Please join us and learn ways in which you can help the Indigenous people of Oaxaca recover their freedom and dignity. For more information call (360)570-8089.

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The Thurston-Santo Tomás Sister County Association

WORK-A-DAY To Build The Escuela Hermandad

Grace Cox

Join hundreds of your friends and neighbors in helping to build our sister school in Santo Tomás, Chontales, Nicaragua. The Thurston-Santo Tomás Sister County Association (TSTSCA) invites you to contribute your wages on May 17th to help mitigate the devastating impact of U.S. foreign policy on the children of our sister community. The WORK-A-DAY for Peace fundraiser follows on the heels of Tax Day, when U.S. residents are called upon to provide the funding that supports this foreign policy. While the overt military wars in Central America appear to be over for the time being, the struggle for real justice and peace continues.

"The Thurston-Santo Tomás Sister County Association has accepted the challenge of raising $18,800 to construct a second story on the Escuela Hermandad, adding three more classrooms and an outside staircase."

In 1985, the Olympia-based Central America Action Committee (CAAC) sponsored a Work-A-Day campaign to raise funds for agricultural projects in El Salvador and building materials for an elementary school in Nicaragua. Many people in South Puget Sound contributed generously to these projects because it was a chance to do a concrete good in the face of a horrific U.S. foreign policy. That violent policy was directly responsible for the deaths and "disappearances" of hundreds of thousands of Central Americans and the destruction of innumerable homes, schools, hospitals, grain silos, etc.

Encouraged by the success of the first Work-A-Day, CAAC organizers designated the 1986 proceeds to send medical aid to hard hit areas of the war in El Salvador and to symbolically pay for war reparations to Nicaragua. In 1986, the U.S. government was ordered by the World Court to pay $17 billion in reparations to Nicaragua for its heinous role in organizing, directing and financing the illegal *contra* war, or counterrevolution. The Reagan/Bush administration ignored the judgment of the World Court, while the majority of U.S. citizens deplored the administration's blatant disregard for international law. '88, '89, & '90 saw the annual Work-A-Day campaigns raise more money for direct, people-to-people aid to Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Hoy en día, la lucha sigue. What was once called imperialism is now called globalization. In the name of this global economy, the people of Central America become more impoverished as their governments are forced to prioritize servicing the national debts over meeting basic human needs. Adequate food, housing, access to health care and education have all become expendable.

In the early nineties, Nicaraguan President Violetta Chamorro agreed to move the responsibiiity for school funding from the national government to local communities in order to receive loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. She also dropped the World Court suit and settlement against the U.S. This shift significantly reduced the amount of funding available for schools, and placed a portion of the burden of financing education on the students' families. In Nicaragua's unstable economy, with extreme levels of unemployment, this burden is too much for many families to bear.

Even without the added cost of public education, many children must work to help support their families. Opportunities for education for these working children are extremely limited. The success of the Literacy Campaign carried out by the Sandinista government in the early eighties, which increased the literacy rate from 48% to 88%, is rapidly being eroded.

In Santo Tomás, the Escuela Hermandad fills an important niche. Opened in February 1999, built with funds provided by fellow sister city friends from Mol, Belgium, Escuela Hermandad is a night school where children who work during the day can get an education. But the three classrooms are not enough space to meet the high need for nighttime education. Additional classroom space will allow Escuela Hermandad to serve a larger population, including adults who have not had educational opportunities.

The Thurston-Santo Tomás Sister County Association has accepted the challenge of raising $18,800 to construct a second story on the Escuela Hermandad, adding three more classrooms and an outside staircase. With our support, this project will fulfill its name of the Sister School. We hope to raise much of this money by reviving the tradition of the Work-A-Day campaign.

We ask you to help us with this project by donating all or a significant part of the wages you earn on May 17th to the Escuela Hermandad. Participants will receive a colorful Work-A-Day button to wear to work, and as many brochures explaining the project as you would like. We'll also treat you to dinner and a short video about the night school as a way of celebrating together our community's response to a need in our sister county. The dinner, of typical Nicaraguan cuisine, will be held at Lincoln Elementary School, 213 21st Ave. S.E., at 6:00 on the 17th.

An all volunteer organization, the Thurston-Santo Tomás Sister County Association fosters sustained relationships and greater understanding between the peoples of Santo Tomás and Thurston County. TSTSCA works with the Committee for Community Development in Santo Tomás to sponsor delegations to and from both communities and to provide funding and other support for sustainable projects which are designed to improve educational & economic opportunities and health care.

Please join the 2000 WORK-A-DAY Campaign and help us make a positive difference in the lives of Santo Tomás children and adults marginalized by the high price that globalization extracts from underdeveloped countries. Most U.S. citizens benefit indirectly from the lopsided global economic equation that heavily favors the "North". Here is an opportunity to return a small piece of those benefits to the "South". We will keep you apprised of the project through our quarterly publication and public events.

Donations to TSTSCA are tax deductible. Please fill out the form below and return it to TSTSCA as soon as possible. TSTSCA, PO Box 561, Olympia, WA 98507. If you are able to send your contribution now, please write "Escuela Hermandad" in the memo line of your check.

TSTSCA meets the third Monday of every month. Business meetings are always preceded by a potluck, and new faces are always welcome. For more information about this project or TSTSCA please call Jessica, 352-8436.

I, _____, pledge my wages from work on May 17th, 2000, to help build the second floor at the Escuela Hermandad.

My day's wages are $_____, and I will donate them by May 30.

- ❑ Check here if you are including your donation at this time. Make checks payable to TSTSCA.
- ❑ And, I accept your invitation to dinner on May 17th.
  Number in party: _____
  ❑ omnivore ❑ vegetarian ❑ vegan
- ❑ Please send me _____ copies of the brochure about the Escuela Hermandad project.

Name _____

Phone _____

Address _____

City & Zip _____

e-mail _____

Imagine... A world without corporations?

Steve Miller

Global corporations today are larger than most countries. If countries and corporations are lumped together, 51 of the world's 100 top economies are corporations. These corporations directly control resources that no country can organize. They are far more mobile and flexible than countries, and certainly have massive power in a world where money and power are so often identical. National leaders, with a few notable exceptions, can seldom comprehend how global corporations work, much less control them, and usually wind up serving them.

Global corporations are direct, absolute dictatorships. Usually under the executive control of the CEO, corporations constantly maneuver to dictate social questions and political policies that facilitate their interests. In fact, it is an unchallenged assumption of our society that corporations — by definition, private enterprises — should have absolute say over social policy — by definition, public issues that concern people.

Exactly what kind of a democracy is it where private dictatorships use their immense power to control our lives? Can we really expect, after decades of effort, that now at last corporations are finally going to be "responsible"? Maybe they should simply be abolished like other hangovers such as slavery and feudal rights? Corporations, by definition, must put making maximum profits first. Producing commodities for life is completely secondary. They use their political power for one thing, to guarantee that it is legal to profit from human misery.

As a result, corporations are typically reckless, renegade organizations that must attack any human-oriented social or environmental policy if it gets in their way. The decline of the world's health and sustainability coincides with the rise of the Dow Jones Index. Corporations have more rights than individuals, and none of the responsibilities. Before the American Revolution, corporations — private pools of capital and power — were looked on with suspicion as threats to the social order.

A corporation is a legal arrangement that allows its directors to escape from being personally held legally accountable. A CEO can make the decision to poison the water with toxic chemicals, using corporate risk assessment calculus - but it's the corporation that gets sued. Corporations forced millions of humans in the U.S. into destitution by eliminating Welfare and replacing it with "The Personal Responsibility Act." "Its high time," they yammered, "that people start being responsible!" How ironic, since corporations specifically are designed to avoid personal responsibility — for the class of billionaires!

Corporations extract billions of dollars from society every year, and use it only for corporate interests. Every year hundreds of millions of people labor for private corporations to produce vast amounts of wealth that are then withdrawn from productive society. This stolen wealth is labeled "private profits." Its one of the root causes for the intense alienation which is at the root of capitalism. But that's not all. For example, the WTO's first act in 1997 was to open the telecommunications systems of every country to private investment and control. Since these systems were almost universally built with public money, this represents perhaps the greatest private appropriation of public wealth in human history.

Apparently private appropriation of public wealth is ok, but, up until now, the public appropriation of private wealth has been simply out of the question. Corporations are using their absolutely unchallenged monopoly of high technology to rebuild the world in their interests. First of all, they claim the absolute right to control this technology. Who voted on that one? Most of this technology was created with publicly financed, high-tech research and development. Then they would have us believe, despite abundant evidence to the contrary, that this technology can only be configured to create the upcoming global network to make, distribute and sell all manner of goods and services. Bill Gates is quite clear on this one. In his book, "The Road Ahead," Gates holds that the public control of electronic technology should not even be discussed, much less organized (page 157). So let's discuss it.

Corporations tell us that humans should buy the things they need. This is interesting. Global corporations are the largest economic concerns on the planet. They operate on every continent, using computers and telecommunications, fiber-optics and satellite networks, to generate information every second that is then reorganized to control finances and services, to generate production and distribution. They really don't do this by buying things. How exactly does this happen?

Though the Internet is the latest public rage, the Intranet is far larger, far more dominant and far less known. The Intranet refers to the private, corporate computer networks around the world that hook together all the corporate enterprises. These networks are private and secret; public access is denied. The Intranet facilitates the production of information, goods and services within the corporations. Do you think that GM actually buys a chassis made in its Brazilian plant to be assembled in its Mexican plant with parts from Korea and Ohio? Of course not. Within the corporations, money is not used to distribute things. It is simply noted on some data base as a measure of value. Parts and services are constantly being moved around within corporations without the use of money at all. So the largest economic concerns on the planet already distribute things without money.

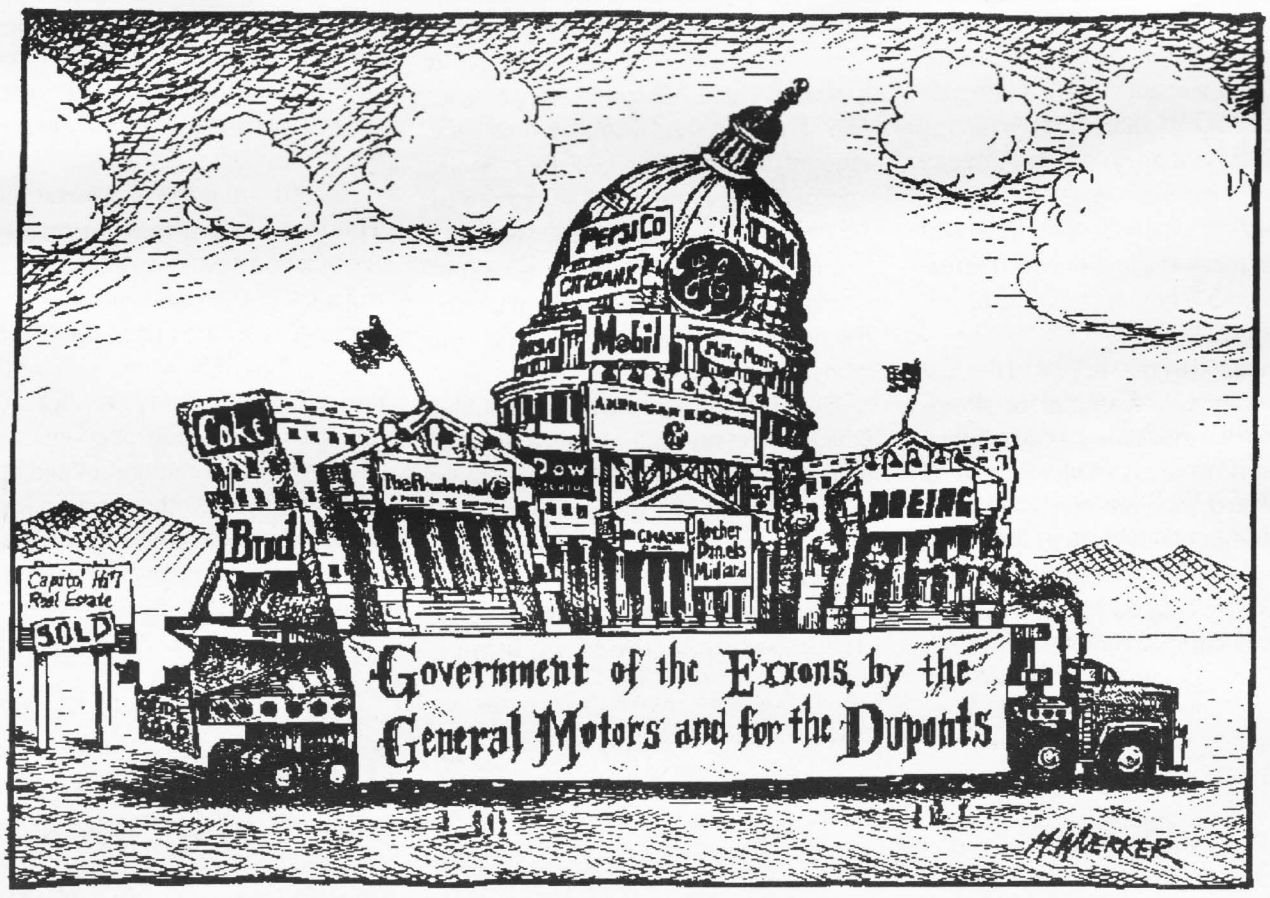
"Corporations are using their absolutely unchallenged monopoly of high technology to rebuild the world in their interests."

In fact, vast and immense mountains of things — maybe even the majority of things — are distributed without money within global corporations. So why should money be used to impose a false scarcity upon human beings ? Sez who? We didn't vote on that one either. Electronic technology means all routine work can now be done by computers and robots. It's about time. Why should we ruin our lives and our health using Stone Age or Industrial Era technology? Technology — part of the treasury of human achievement — should belong to all of humanity and living things, just as should the seas, the stars, the radio waves and our own DNA.

It is the private control of this technology that is breeding a world of economic polarization and ever-increasing misery, collapse, epidemics, homelessness and lack of basic human rights like shelter, health care, education and culture. Global corporations demand the right to configure this wonderful technology for maximum private profit. After all, they say, "We own it." Maybe this is why the cost of calling 411 has reached 90 cents. Somebody has to pay for running the Intranet 24 hours a day?

The point is that this way of organizing technology can be reconfigured for the benefit of everyone. And since money has so little importance within corporations, we can reconfigure that one too — another discussion Bill Gates doesn't want to happen. We might as well finish the job and separate income from work while we're at it. Time for homework. Do corporations even deserve to exist? Shouldn't they be illegal? The exciting thing about the Internet is that it has showed everyone the exciting and higher ways that human cooperation can work with electronic technology.

So divide a paper into two columns and list the effects of corporations on human life — one column for the contributions and the other for their destructive effects. For each item, imagine how that might be done without corporations — to be done better, more efficiently and cheaper, on a cooperative basis — without the diversion of human wealth into corporate hands. If there were no corporations, then corporate profits would go to all of us, not just a small clique of arrogant parasites. This would go a long way to build, for example, a worldwide network of free and well-supplied supermarkets. No more environmental destruction for reasons of profit. Our children will expect us to get an "A" on this assignment. Please: Let's leave them a cooperative world with a bright future, not a corporate dead end.



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Tin Soldiers and Nixon Coming

Ron Jacobs

The spring of 1970 was a spring of insurrection and repression. On April 30th, Richard Nixon announced to the nation that US troops had invaded Cambodia. By the next day, many of the nation's universities and high schools were in various states of rebellion. The protests spread overseas and to military bases as people around the world poured into the streets outraged at the latest expansion of the US war against the people of Southeast Asia. On May 4, 1970 National Guard troops opened fire on students and others protesting the war at Kent State University in Ohio, killing four and wounding many others. In the next two weeks, six African-American men were killed by police in Augusta, Georgia during civil disturbances and two young African-Americans were murdered by Mississippi State Police during antiwar demonstrations at Jackson State College in Mississippi.

In late February of 1970, my father, who was then a major in the Air Force, came back from a little more than a year of service in Da Nang, Vietnam. During that time I had gone from being a junior supporter of Gene McCarthy to something of an anti-imperialist as my understanding of the war deepened. After three weeks at our stateside home outside of Washington, DC, we were reassigned to Frankfurt am Main in what was then West Germany. When I awoke on May 1 that year, I was incredulous and angry that Nixon had sent troops into Cambodia. Although my political awareness was still unformed, I had figured out quickly that Richard Nixon was a pig. Still, though, I didn't think he or anyone else would actually expand the war in Southeast Asia when everybody—including the military—wanted it to end. When I went to the kitchen for breakfast my father was still there and we had a short debate about the invasion before he headed off to work. This got me fired up for a day of debate. I waited with my siblings for the bus that took us to our respective schools in different US Army installations around Frankfurt, anticipating the opportunity to express my hatred of the war and the people who ran it. It was especially important since I had only been at this school for a few weeks and was still trying to get in with the counterculture freaks at the junior high.

"I was not prepared for the news that morning. Nor do I think I will ever forget how I felt when I first heard it. Four students had been shot dead in Kent, Ohio..."

Sure enough, even though homeroom was run by the gym teacher (a man who usually didn't like talking about the news or anything other than sports), we spent the whole class period arguing about the war. By the time civics class came up right before lunch, some of the more radical students (whom I was just beginning to know) were trying to organize some kind of protest. However, since the weekend was coming up, nothing concrete was devised. When we got back to school on Monday, May 4, most of us who cared had heard the news reports all weekend about the massive protests taking place all over the US against Nixon's move into Cambodia. In addition, the German students had kept the police busy all weekend in Frankfurt with constant rallies and marches against the invasion. By noon on Monday, some hastily drawn posters began appearing on the walls of our junior high urging students to protest the war on Wednesday, May 6, by wearing black armbands and refusing to go to homeroom. Of course, as soon as the posters appeared, they were ripped down by administrators or a pro-war student or teacher. One girl was suspended when she refused to remove a poster she had just put up. That night I found some black material and made myself an armband.

Like always, I turned on the radio when I awoke the next morning. I liked to listen to the news, especially when something big was happening. I was not prepared, however, for the news that morning. Nor do I think I will ever forget how I felt when I first heard it. Four students had been shot dead in Kent, Ohio by the National Guard while protesting the war. I knew what Dylan meant when he sang of his tears of rage. My eyes were brimming over with such tears and my heart was pounding in anger and disbelief. I didn't say much as I got ready for school. My mom was silent as I read the Stars and Stripes report on the killings and my older sister and I talked about them.

I put my armband on while waiting for the school bus. Upon arriving at school, I searched for some of the kids most involved in the antiwar planning. In homeroom, the teacher read a memo from the principal expressing regret from the principal over the slayings in Ohio, but warned that no protest of any kind would be allowed at Frankfurt American Junior High School. The PE teacher looked around, noting that three or four of us wore black armbands, and said nothing. One of the guys asked if he could read something relevant to the current events and the teacher said yes. Steve took out a copy of the text to Arlo Guthrie's antiwar poem "Alice's Restaurant Massacree" and began reading, complete with four part harmony. By the time he finished, class was over.

Most of the teachers turned the classroom time that day into a discussion of the war in Vietnam and the repression of the movement against it. Those students who wanted to do more than just wear armbands passed the word that people should still refuse to go to homeroom the following day. We would hold a silent vigil in the parking lot instead . A few students were forced to remove their armbands by the more reactionary teachers. Other teachers took armbands provided by the students and wore them themselves. When the bell signalling the beginning of classes rang the next morning, about a hundred students in the parking lot made no moves toward the building. We waited for a signal of some kind from one of the protest organizers. As we milled around, certain teachers known for their allegiance to the rules appeared on the outskirts of our small crowd. Slowly but surely they herded us towards the entrance doors and slowly but surely we filed in. I don't think we had a failure of will as much as we had no organization. Later that day there was a two-hour all-school assembly where, after some sanctimonious nonsense from the principal and an Army officer about defending freedom (both of whom were shouted down), we argued about the war.

-*From My Trip Out West* - a work in progress (Correction to last month's article—the author of *Honor America* is Stanley Aronowitz)

Kent State MAY 4 TASK FORCE

It's great to finally see KSU leaders begin to seriously consider legitimate recognition of May 4, 1970, as a significant historical massacre. For too many years, our families of 1970 Kent victims were joined only by the students of the May 4 Task Force on an annual basis. After decades of KSU's cruel insensitivity (the 1977 gym controversy, the recent memorial-reduction controversy, etc.), we welcome the seemingly sincere new KSU dedication to our longstanding cause of truth if not justice. The September 8, 1999, parking lot memorials' dedication ceremony was a major turning point that proved new KSU sensitivity at last.

Kent State University should forever shine a beacon light toward a future free of hatred, violence and war, including civil unrest. From tragedy & misunderstanding, hopefully, we now see an opportunity for truth and real education at Kent State University.

Otherwise, our 1970 Kent State University students died in vain.

The modern students of the May 4 Task Force are assembling very significant plans for a tremendous 30th annual May 4 Commemoration on May 2-6. Here's a brief tentative schedule of planned May 4 Task Force student commemoration events:

May 2, 2000: 7pm, "Other Victims, Other Voices". Panel discussion featuring eyewitnesses of African-American student massacres including Jackson State University, South Carolina State College (Orangeburg), Southern University in Louisiana & the University of Kansas. Some of the Kent State victims and eyewitnesses will also participate. Sponsor: May 4 Task Force students.

May 3, 2000, at noon: Professor J. Gregory Payne from Emerson College in Boston presents his drama students and his play, "Kent State: A Requiem". Sponsor: May 4 Task Force students.

MAY 3: annual evening arts event featuring music, poetry and statements on the KSU Commons at the Victory Bell. Followed by the annual 11pm CANDLELIGHT MARCH and ALL NIGHT CANDLELIGHT VIGIL starting at midnight in the Prentice Hall parking lot where our 1970 martyrs were shot and killed. Sponsor: May 4 Task Force students.

MAY 4: private morning breakfast featuring the families of the 1970 victims and all 9 wounded students. A news conference will follow. Many of these wounded students and family members will participate.

MAY 4: NOON-3pm— 30th ANNUAL MAY 4 COMMEMORATION EVENT— sponsored by the May 4 Task Force students, featuring speakers Noam Chomsky, Vernon Bellecourt, Ramona Afrika, Gene Young (& two more Jackson State speakers), Juliette Beck (organizer of anti-WTO protests in Seattle), Julia Butterfly Hill (environmental activist par excellance), audio tape of death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal (journalist and Black Panther) also music by Country Joe McDonald, Alice Di Micele, etc.

MAY 4: 4-6pm— WORKSHOPS in the KSU student Center— featuring Noam Chomsky, Ramona Afrika, Vernon Bellecourt, Juliette Beck, Julia Butterfly Hill, May 4 eyewitnesses and many others. Workshops sponsored by the students of the May 4 Task Force.

MAY 4 EVENING: a major concert including musicians soon announced. Sponsor: May 4 Task Force students.

MAY 5 & 6—reunion of 1968-69 Kent State SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). Sponsor: May 4 Task Force students.

MAY 5 evening: free psychedelic concert for SDS veterans and anti-war Vietnam Veterans by Country Joe McDonald along with the great young west coast folk singer Alice Di Micele. Sponsor: May 4 Task Force students.

MAY 6 morning: private Kent SDS reunion breakfast. Afternoon, public reunion events, films, etc. Sponsor: May 4 Task Force students.

MAY 6 evening: SDS reunion conclusion— more music, etc. Sponsor: May 4 Task Force students.

Kent May 4 Center donations

Please consider a financial donation to the Kent May 4 Center to assist our expensive educational efforts as the 30th anniversary approaches on May 4, 2000.

Students: even your $1 donation helps offset our costs. For all donations, we'll send you a membership card.

If you believe in our efforts to provide meaningful history education & assist student activism in America, please support us now.

The KENT MAY 4 CENTER is recognized as a tax-exempt, non-profit, educational charity according to section 501(c)(3) of the United States tax code by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) since 1989. Tax-exempt donations may be mailed to:

KENT MAY 4 CENTER, Inc.
P.O.Box 3313 Kent, OH 44240

If you have any questions, call 330-673-7070 or http://www.may4.org/.

Look for "The May 4th Task Force - 25 years of student activism." by Mac Lojowsky in the next issue of WIP.

See his article about the Kent State Massacre on the next page

May 4, 1970

Kent State - Thirty Years Later

Mac Lojowsky

By the late 1960's, spurred by the earlier civil rights movement and an undeclared war against the people of Vietnam, many people (mostly students) began to take a closer look at the actions of the U.S. government. They were questioning America's involvement in Vietnam, the repression of its own citizens of color, women and the impoverished. People began to raise serious issues questioning the values of an economic system that promoted these inequalities. The Black Panther Party, Student Non-Violent Co-Ordinating Committee, the American Indian Movement, Vietnam Veterans Against The War, Students for a Democratic Society and a host of other activist groups took root in this era and blossomed.

Worldwide, students were challenging their own governments. In France, Germany, Mexico, Czechoslavakia, Poland, Switzerland and a number of other nations, change was as real as the thousands marching through the streets. The leaders of these countries, almost exclusively an old guard of iron-fisted autocrats, responded to these popular uprisings with a mixture of fear, resentment and outright violence. Rather than embracing the ideals of racial, sexual, economic and educational equality, these politicians saw the popular movements as threats to their own structures of power.

In America, the U.S. government made great efforts to both destabilize and destroy the growing radicalism of its youth. From the murders and imprisonment of Black Panthers and AIM members to the constant police beatings sustained by student protesters, the list of political victims from this era is long. Perhaps nowhere more publicly obvious of the U.S. government's efforts to destroy the spreading revolution was in Ohio, at Kent State University, May 4, 1970.

In the early spring of 1970, U.S. Vice President Spiro Agnew made a speech typical of the government's attitude towards student demonstrators. "There is a . . . group of students," he stated, "committed to radical change through violent means. Some of these may be irretrievable; all will require very firm handling. This is the criminal left that belongs not in a dormitory, but in a penitentiary. The criminal left is not a problem to be solved by the department of philosophy or the department of English—it is a problem for the Department of Justice."

On Thursday April 30, 1970, President Nixon expanded the Vietnam War by ordering a major invasion and bombing campaign of neighboring Cambodia. He announced to a nation largely disgusted of the war, "In cooperation with the armed forces of South Vietnam, attacks were being launched this week to clean out major enemy sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam boarder."

On Friday May 1, 1970, about 400 students at Kent State University (KSU), lead by anti-war graduate students, gathered in a large, grassy field known as the KSU Commons, and ceremoniously burned a copy of the U.S. Constitution in response to Nixon's announcement. By the time the peaceful demonstration had disbanded, University officials and the FBI had information that a larger protest was planned for Monday, May 4, at noon (U. S. Justice Department Summary of FBI Reports, July, 1970). That night, still distraught with Nixon's announcement, students took to the streets in protest. Bottles were thrown at police cars, who responded by dispatching 22 police in riot gear.

Through the rest of the evening, tensions between police and protesters escalated, resulting in 14 arrests and 47 broken windows. Almost all of the windows broken downtown that night were political targets- banks, loan offices, utility companies (phone, electric and gas) and the conservative local newspaper, the Kent Record-Courier. Eventually, police used tear gas to disperse the remaining protesters. The following day, Kent City Mayor Leroy Satrom declared that $50,000 dollars in property damage had occurred in downtown Kent. Author Peter Davies found "after the shootings, this figure ($50,000) was revised to $15,000" (The Truth About Kent State, p. 15, 1973).

Saturday May 2, 1970, Mayor Satrom declared that Kent was in a state of Civil Emergency. The sale of alcohol, firearms, ammunition and gasoline was prohibited and a citywide curfew was established for 8:00 p.m. Although the curfew was effect in the city, Kent State's curfew was not until 1:00 a.m, which forced students to gather on campus, or risk arrest. At 8:00 p.m., around 1500 students protesting what they saw was the actualization of marshal law, gathered at the university's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) building.

Activist Alan Canfora, one of the students shot on May 4, and a participant in the ROTC demonstration explains, "Some of the students there did try to light the building on fire. It was like the Three Stooges trying to burn the ROTC building; throwing matches through the windows. Then the fire trucks showed up with the Sheriffs, State Troopers, campus police and Kent police, and throughly doused out the few curtains that did catch fire. Then they started taking flash pictures of us and then they started using tear gas, so we left. When we left, that fire was completely out."

"At that point," Canfora continues, "the group decided to head towards town to gather more people. When we did come back about an hour later, the building had burned to the ground. It is important to understand that the building burned while it was under control of the authorities. Today, it remains one of the biggest mysteries of Kent State because that was the excuse to bring in the National Guard" (personal interview with the author, April 15, 2000).

The October 16, 1970 Report of the Special Grand Jury under Portage County Common Pleas Judge Edwin W. Jones concluded, "It is obvious that the burning of the ROTC building could have been prevented with the manpower then available."

Six years later, Senator Frank Church and his Senate investigation committee report was issued, exposing years of CIA, FBI, state and local sabotage of America's social and political movements. (This was the report that exposed the COINTELPRO and HOUSTON programs). Though it says little about Kent State, the FBI admits that only five days later, on May 7, 1970, they deliberately lit an ROTC building on fire in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

In FBI memos obtained under the Freedom of Information Act concerning Kent State, scores of crucial information remain missing. Not only are entire pages blacked-out concerning the fire, but at least six pages of the ROTC fire reports are listed as "deleted"(author's personal investigation).

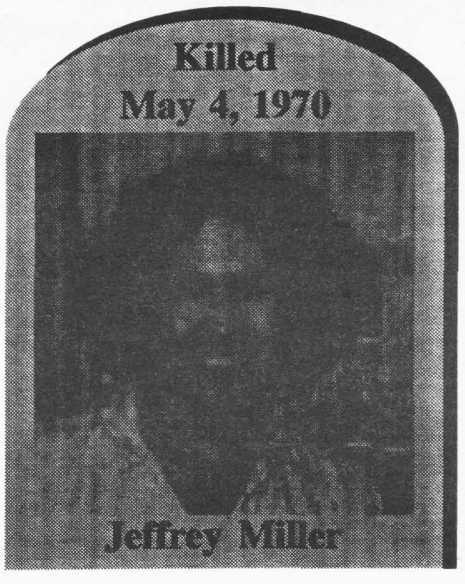
As the ROTC building smoldered, Kent Mayor Satrom called in the Ohio National Guard, who were still on duty in nearby Akron for a Teamsters strike. Between the time the Guard was pulled out of Akron and arrived in Kent at 10:00 p.m., they had replaced their rubber bullets with live ammunition.

On Sunday May 3, 1970, Ohio Governor James Rhodes held a press conference in downtown Kent about the unrest at Kent State. "These protesters," Rhodes declared while pounding a table top with his fist, "are the worst type of people we harbor in America, worse than the brown shirts and the communist element... We're going to use every force of law that we have under our authority... We are going to employ every weapon possible. There is no place off limits. There is no sanctuary and we are going to disperse crowds."

Despite the fact that the Portage County Prosecutor wanted to close the university down until the situation calmed, Gov. Rhodes refused. Closing the university, he said, "would be playing into the hands of the SDS and the Weathermen."

During these early days of May, Governor Rhodes was in a losing Republican primary election race for the U.S. Senate against incumbent, Robert Taft. The

"We are going to employ every weapon possible." – Ohio Governor James Rhodes Kent, May 4, 1970



week before the May 5 primary elections, Rhodes was 7% behind Taft in the polls. Rhodes decided strategy was to take a vocal hard-line stance against campus activists in an effort to appeal to the traditionally conservative Ohio voters. To some extent, he was successful; Rhodes lost the primary election by less than 1% the day after the Kent State shootings.

Canfora firmly states, "there is every reason to believe that Nixon was helping Rhodes in his election race against Taft. This was a desperate politician trying to get votes...[The May 4 shootings were] very likely planned and approved by U.S. military and political leaders including President Nixon and Governor Rhodes. In particular, President Nixon had a personal grudge against Kent State anti-war activists since October, 1968, when the Kent SDS repeatedly shouted down Nixon during his speech at nearby Akron University" (personal interview with the author April 15 and April 19, 2000).

Indeed, in transcripts obtained from the 1975 Cleveland Federal Court civil lawsuit against Rhodes and the Ohio National Guard, Governor Rhodes admitted under oath that he had twice committed perjury in earlier trials regarding two telephone conversations he had with President Nixon in the days prior to the shootings. The topic of their conversations, as Rhodes finally admitted, was the Kent State anti-war students militant actions on Friday the first and Saturday May 2.

At Kent State, May 3, students found that their campus was under what appeared to be military control. According to a research paper co-authored by eyewitnesses and KSU professors Jerry M. Lewis and Thomas R. Hensley, "Nearly 1000 National Guardsmen occupied the campus (on May 3), making it appear like a military war zone" ("The May 4 Shootings at Kent State University: The Search for Historical Accuracy," The Ohio Council for the Social Studies Review, summer, 1998).

At 8:00 p.m., in violation of a campus-wide National Guard order banning all public gatherings, students again assembled to protest the curfew and presence of the armed Guard. The National Guard immediately responded by driving the students off campus and into town. Tensions further escalated when Guardsmen bayoneted a half dozen protestors peacefully sitting in the street for failure to disperse. Eventually, tear gas was used and 68 arrests were made.

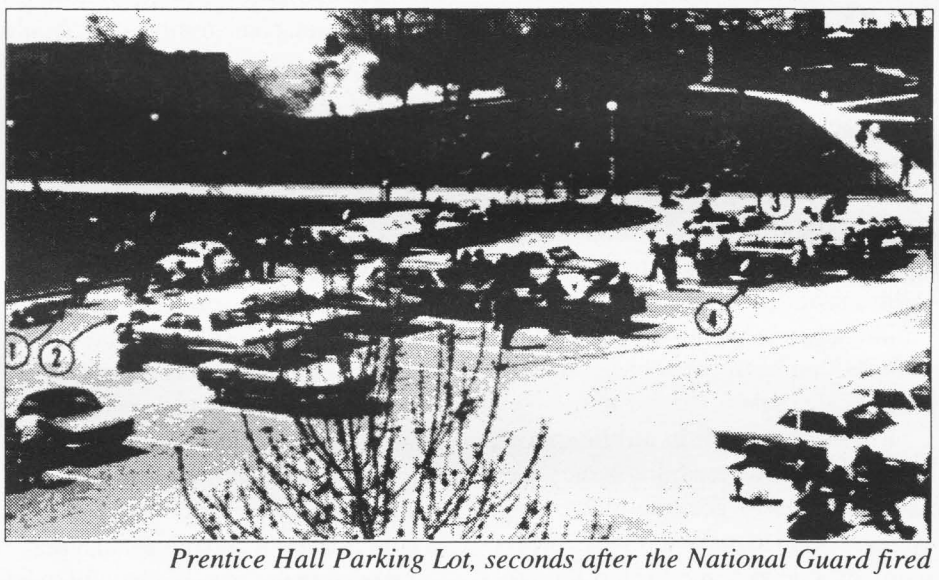
Just before noon, on Monday, May 4, as classes were letting out for lunch, around 300 students had gathered in the KSU Commons for a rally. The Ohio National Guard stood at the other side of the Commons as more students, on their way to lunch, joined the rally, swelling the number of students to over 2,000.

The National Guard addressed the students over a bullhorn; "This assembly is unlawful. The crowd must disperse at this time. This is an order!" This message was repeated five times by the Guard, each time the students responded with chants of "Power to the People, Pigs off campus!" and "1, 2, 3, 4 we don't want your fucking war!" A few minutes later, the Kent State University police pleaded, "For your own safety, all you bystanders and innocent people, leave." Tear gas was fired, and students responded by sending the canisters back to the Guardsmen.

With more tear gas, the Guardsmen, then numbering about 100, corralled the demonstrators between two buildings and up Blanket Hill. Students began throwing sticks and gravel pebbles at the advancing troops as they retreated towards the Prentice Hall parking lot. Canfora points out that at the beginning of the tear gas barrage the National Guard "suddenly prevented the TV and news media from following the troops as they began their march on the unarmed students" (personal interview with the author, April 19, 2000).

Activist Alan Canfora with flag

A few moments later, out of approximately 76 guardsmen, only the thirteen "members of Troop G were ordered to kneel and aim their weapons at the students in the parking lot south of Prentice Hall. They did so, but did not fire (U.S. Justice Department Summary of FBI Reports, July, 1970)." The Guard quickly assembled together for a short conference, and then moved back to their positions, focusing upon the most vocal contingent of demonstrators, who were now below Blanket Hill, on the Prentice Hall parking lot.



Prentice Hall Parking Lot, seconds after the National Guard fired

At 12:24 p.m. the thirteen members of "Troop G" of the Ohio National Guard simultaneously turned, aimed their M-1 carbines and opened fire on the crowd of unarmed students. The 1970 U.S. Department of Justice Summary of FBI Reports revealed, "no verbal warning was given to the students immediately prior to the time the Guardsmen fire." Canfora states, "It is clear there was a verbal order to fire. The well-coordinated actions of these triggermen seemed quite planned and executed like a firing squad upon orders to shoot" (personal interview with the author, April 19, 2000).

After thirteen seconds and 76 bullets, Jeffery Miller, Sandra Scheuer, Allison Krause and Bill Schroder were dead. Nine more were wounded, one of whom was permanently paralyzed from the waist-down. Sandra Scheuer was not involved with the demonstration, only on her way to a speech-therapy class. Bill Schroder, an ROTC student, also not involved, was only trying to make sense out of the confusion when he was shot. The day before, Allison Krause had placed a daisy in the rifle barrel of a National Guardsman and told the soldiers, "flowers are better than bullets."

Jeff Miller, previously an active member of SDS, was saluting the troops with his middle fingers when an M-1 rifle bullet entered his jaw.

None of the murdered students was closer than 275 feet from the Guard. In fact, "only two (students) were shot from the front. Seven students were shot from the side and four were shot from the rear" (U.S. Justice Department Summary of FBI Reports, July, 1970).

One of the initial reasons the National Guard gave for firing into a crowd of unarmed students was they felt threatened because the crowd was closing in on them. A photo of the Guard taken only seconds before the shooting began shows the main body of students were gathered in the Prentice Hall parking lot, about 300 feet away, and absolutely no students were behind the soldiers to hinder their retreat. Again, the U.S. Department of Justice Summary of FBI Reports concludes, "the Guardsmen were not surrounded...they easily could have continued going in the direction which they had been going."

In an immediate show of solidarity, the only national student strike in American history erupted with over four million students shutting down some 800 campuses. Across the nation, thirty ROTC buildings were burned in protest. Maryland students blocked Highway # 1 outside of Washington D.C. President Nixon found himself trapped inside the White House, surrounded by 150,000 student demonstrators. In San Francisco, students stormed and occupied City Hall, demanding the impeachment of Richard Nixon.

President Nixon addressed the nation after the shootings with a message aimed at political activists. "When dissent turns to violence," he warned, "it invites tragedy."

Despite clear evidence that the National Guard had fired in offense, (rather than defense) derived from over one thousand pages of FBI reports, countless eye-witness testimonies and a through investigation by local, state and federal authorities, the courts ultimately blamed the student protesters.

The Report of the Special Grand Jury under Judge Edwin W. Jones concluded, "We find...that those members of the National Guard who were present on the hill adjacent to Taylor Hall on May 4, 1970 fired their weapons in the honest and sincere belief...that they would suffer serious bodily injury had they not done so. They are not, therefore, subject to criminal prosecution under the laws of this state from any death or injury resulting therefrom (October 16, 1970)."

Thirty Years Later

As activists of today, we must learn the lessons of Kent State thirty years ago. The father of murdered Allison Krause, Arthur Krause, cried out after the death of his daughter, "Have we come to such a state in this country that a young girl has to be shot because she disagrees with the actions of her government?" As both the Black Panthers and American Indian Movement had long understood, the answer was and still is, yes.

Kent State was a major landmark in the American history of political activism. What was so groundbreaking about Kent State is that it was the first time that the U.S. government was willing to publicly execute protesting, middle-class white college students. The fact that the government felt the need to murder these students clearly demonstrates the threat which the movement posed.

As we witness the new movement against corporate dominance grow, we must be aware of our history. As Egyptian feminist, activist and writer, Nawal El Saadawi recently spoke at the Evergreen State College, "You must lean from the past, live in the present and work towards the future."

We must find our elders of activism, and they must find us. Together, we can continue the work which they began over thirty years ago. The blood which student protesters shed on May 4, 1970 is the same blood which was recently shed in the streets of Seattle and Washington D.C. The blood of dissent again flows strong through the veins of America's student activists.

Alan Canfora is confident that the activists of the 1960's are connecting with today's student movement. "Many of the veterans of our earlier student movement remain active across America and contribute effort and awareness to assist younger activists today," Canfora states. "Clearly, there's a great new trend of modern student activism now in 2000" (personal interview with the author, April 19, 2000).

Redefining Sexuality:

Highlights of the Sexuality and Disability Conference at SFSU

Amy Levinson, MPA

Thomas Kuhn, the philosopher of science, brought us the concept "paradigm shift". That term generates a rather visceral reaction in many people, and is defined as a breaking down of old models, overarching theories and philosophies in the epoch in which they defined thought and influenced cultural, society and politics. A paradigm shift happens when old ways of thinking are discredited, through a scientific or political process, many times an incorporation of both. New ways of seeing, new ideas and information, and a challenge to archaic or obsolete theories about disability and sexuality were all laid out on the table at the Disability, Sexuality and Culture conference held at San Francisco State University, March 16-18th. The formal goals of the conference were to present current research in disability and sexuality, to strategize, collaborate and prioritize future goals, to develop the infrastructure for future research and to make policy recommendations.

The many cogent thinkers, researchers and activists presenting their work covered the dizzying array of issues. The topic of disability and sexuality speaks of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation oppression, cultural stereotypes, and stigmatization. And finally, the importance of recognizing the layers of identity through which people with disabilities have to fight and challenge in their activism, and in their daily personal interactions with society in order to be recognized as more than second, third and fourth class citizens.

Disabled sexuality as a social construct-Tom Shakespeare

The conference started off with a big bang from an original thinker and expert articulator, Tom Shakespeare, a sociologist and disability academic from England. Is disability a natural, inexorable condition, or is it socially created and maintained by the dominant cultures in which we live? In defining disability as a social construct, then we can begin to engage in ways of challenging a medical or pathological model of disability. In other words, the question is thus: is disability something gone astray, which needs to be "fixed", with interventions, designed to remediate and make normal the disabled person so that they can "fit in", or is disability created by a society that reifies, or makes "real", ablebodiness, therefore seriously devaluing disabled peoples experience in the world.

When something is propped up as a norm, then everything that does not fit is considered abnormal. In British disability studies, there is a distinction between impairment and disability. This model sees everyone as "impaired' to a certain degree, yet views disability specifically as the political treatment by the mainstream, a situation which can be challenged and changed.

To extend this thinking to sexuality and the issues facing people with disabilities, the problem is not the disability per se, or the ways in which disabled bodies function. Therefore the solutions are not primarily technology-related; more and better adaptive technology, medications and pills, or any fix it. According to Tom, the real and underlying core of the problem with disability sexuality is not how to do it, it's who to do it with. "The barriers to the sexual expression of disabled people are primarily to do with the society in which we live, not just the body in which we are endowed".

A deconstruction of the barriers to sexual expression of people with disabilities is helpful when looking at how to challenge and reconstruct sexuality to be accessible and inclusive. In deconstructing social barriers to disabled sexuality, Tom laid out a scenario of playing Gin Rummy. If playing this game well was considered a key to enjoyment, and a sign of maturity, imagine sitting down to play, but you don't know how to play, have never seen anyone else play, everything you have ever read implies that normal people just somehow know how to play, and totally enjoy playing the very first time they try.

Sex for disabled people can parallel this experience.

Difficulties and barriers include:

+ The ways in which most people learn about sexuality, starting with sex education in the educational system. Many disabled people are viewed as asexual and therefore dismissed from this learning process. In fact, people with disabilities tend to be viewed as children, passive rather than aggressive, contributing more to society viewing them as asexual.

+ Meeting people in public spaces, colleges, etc. Accessibility issues such as being able to get into clubs, bars, colleges, tend to make it impossible for many disabled people to start the process of learning how to interact in a sexual way. Learning how to flirt, to cruise, to express interest is impossible if you cannot access the places where people congregate.

+ Having money. Fifty percent of disabled people in the US are low-income. In order to feel self confident, we must feel good about the way we present ourselves, we do this in a variety of ways, including wearing clothing that makes us feel sexy and self confident. Primary places to interact in our society tend to be schools, and colleges. People who don't have money are left out.

+ Self esteem, confidence, ability to communicate, inability to be taken seriously. Because people with disabilities are marginalized, discluded and devalued, they are not looked at as potential partners. This wreaks havoc on self esteem and self confidence, which one has to have in order to meet and be with a sexual partner.

Tom points out that the physical limitations of disability must also be addressed and not ignored, even though the barriers to sexual self-expression are socially constructed. Difference, limitations and the real problems facing disabled people must be engaged with, but he notes that this must not be the explanatory factor or there is a grave danger of medicalizing all the social and physical problems faced by disabled people.

The core issue in disabled sexuality is one of redefining what sexuality is. The mainstream assumptions about sexuality, the stereotypes inherent in our society about what physical beauty is, conventional gender mythology about what "real men and women are supposed to act, look and think like" can be challenged. Questions that challenge mainstream stereotypes of sexuality include: why should men be dominant in heterosexual relationships, why should sex revolve around penetration, why should sex only involve two people, what is "normal" sex.

The core issue in disabled sexuality is one of redefining what sexuality is. The mainstream assumptions about sexuality, the stereotypes inherent in our society about what physical beauty is, conventional gender mythology about what "real men and women are supposed to act, look and think like" can be challenged.

"Sexual activity and sexual attraction can be whatever you want it to be", Tom says, disabled people shouldn't struggle to conform to mainstream definitions, but work to challenge, create and expand the definition of normality and sexuality. The limitations of disabled sexuality can and should be pushed right to the edge. In this regard, a major theme running through all the presenter's talks was the concept of normal sex as non-creative, non-imaginative and bound up in cultural taboos and mores. In order to think outside the box, it's helpful to be outside. One disabled woman notes how boring " normal sex" sounds and begs the question as to why she should want to do it?

Looking at the issue more broadly, Tom asked the question: Do we want more sex? We live in a sex-saturated culture, overwhelmed with images encouraging us to "just do it". In this "market of sex", where sexuality is the ultimate consumer product, where desire is the desirable commodity above all else, most people are not having good sex all the time. In breaking down the myth of the market of sex, that sex is the meaning of life, the reality is that "life has a few really great sex moments", but otherwise its often mundane. Non-disabled people would do well do heed the struggles and join in solidarity to redefine what is and is not sex, what is pleasure, who gets it, how much do we need it, and overall, if sexuality is not just one expression of a more important concept, that of intimacy, which may be the real accessibility issue for disabled, and non-disabled people alike.

What exactly is pleasure-Mitch Tepper

Mitch Tepper gets a lot of questions. His website, sexualhealth.com, is geared for people with disabilities and features expert advice on sexuality. But, it seems as though the whole world is asking: what is sex, pleasure, and what does it all mean. Mitch has spent a lot of time researching that very question. His doctoral dissertation looked at the ways in which people with spinal cord injury experience their own sexuality. His analysis adds to the discussion and informs on what it means to feel pleasure, how people experience pleasure differently, how the history of pleasure is bleak, and how sexuality in western civilization has focused almost exclusively on procreation to the detriment of the pleasurable aspects of sexuality. His dissertation focuses on orgasm and pleasure in spinal cord injury, and how these don't necessarily conflate with each other.

The intersection of disability and sexuality is where Mitch is at. His research weaves together various factors to show how disabled people have become viewed as asexualized by society, and how to start thinking about challenging the stereotypes around disabled sexuality. Quoting another expert in the field, Alex Comfort, Mitch says "Cultural constructs such as wholly unrealistic emphases placed on physical beauty, or strength as an index of power, places practical barriers to finding a partner. All combine to make the aim of sexual self validation seem better given up". Doctors, social workers and medical staffers contribute by heaving a sigh of collective relief that they don't have to deal with sexual matters with their disabled clients, further desexualizing disabled people.

Historically sexual pleasure has been the missing discourse. Plato regarded sex as something that brought us down to the level of animals. Cultural, political and religious institutions further fostered the concept of sexual pleasure as a sin, a perversion, and taboo. Given that disabled people already face these types of societal stigmatization, the layers of oppression become more difficult to overcome.

During the renaissance in the 1500's, and later in the Victorian era, was the development of the first sets of laws which criminalized sexuality and pleasure. Obscenity, pornography and laws that made direct references to sexuality illegal, all served to engrain in society a discomfort to talk about things frankly sexual. In the late 19th century, medicine came to the fore, non-procreative sexuality became viewed as a disease, a medical problem. Extramarital, premarital and unusual sex became a sickness, "impairing our vision of the physical and psychological value of pleasure in sex". Psychologists in the early twentieth century contributed to devaluing sexual pleasure by defining unusual sex as deviant, including non-heterosexuality. Oral, anal, extended foreplay, queer sex were all considered outside the "normal limits" and viewed as anathema. Only in the mid-20th century did sexual pleasure start to return to the dialogue, through

(Continued next page)

(Sexuality, continued)

the demystification of sex by research done by Masters and Johnson, Kinsey and others.

Interestingly, sex increased in the spotlight through the explicitness of this research, but with it came a heavy focus on performance and orgasm as normative ways to feel pleasure. But what does this mean for disabled people who perform differently than the standard cultural definitions? And what about if traditional ejaculatory orgasm is impossible. In men with spinal cord injury, sensation in the genitals may be limited or non-existent. With such a narrow emphasis on pleasure, defined as the ability to have an orgasm, disabled people are further asexualized and viewed as sexually dysfunctional if they are unable to reach that point.

Mitch's research findings included many anecdotes of non-traditional orgasm, pleasure and feelings that are of a climatic intensity that can equal or exceed mainstream definitions of orgasm. He also found a severe dearth of educational and informational materials available for disabled people that explicitly talks about sexual pleasure. His research showed that most people either learn about sex through reading about it (porno) or doing it. The implications are disturbing, however, given the lack of emphasis placed on sexual matters by the very people who people with disabilities rely on for information about their bodies; doctors, books, and rehabilitation and service workers. When research focuses on pleasure instead of reproduction, the issues that arise deal more with sexual self-esteem, the importance of relationships, connectdness and even spirituality. Research in this area, especially around issues of disability, is lacking. And that's why he gets a lot of questions.

Lesbian disabled sexuality- Corbett O'Toole

People who have tracheotomies breathe through a tube surgically implanted in their throats. And according to one person with this assistive device "Trached dykes eats pussy better, they Never have to come up for air".

Where do disabled lesbians fit in? In the lesbian community? In the women's movement, or in the disabled community? Or everywhere, my preferred answer. In many instances, disabled lesbians are either assumed to be heterosexual, asexual or are simply made invisible. Or, disabled lesbians are viewed as being queer by default, so to speak, they can't find a man so have to be with women. People sleep with who they are attracted to, noted Corbett although its true that some sexual activity is situational, especially for people confined to institutions, you take what you can get sometimes.

How does the lesbian community accept their disabled sisters? Lesbian identity is built around the concept of self-reliance and determination. Isolated economically by mainstream culture, there can be no reliance on a system designed for straight couples. Not accepted in the eyes of the law, lesbians have formed a close-knit community with others, with the ability to supply what is needed. Strength is much vaunted, and the ability to perform culturally specified male tasks, such as car mechanics and bringing home the bacon is a distinct part of the culture. Disabled lesbians may not be able to contribute in this manner to their community, and may need assistance with the most basic of tasks. In the lesbian community, disabled women, who may be reliant on many others, remind them of straight women. This marginalization can be extended to the entire women's movement. Disabled lesbians bring out fears of dependency for feminists.

Disabled lesbian parenting is a mixed bag of identities. The visibility of disabled lesbian mothers touches on society's basic fears about power, control, who has the right, as defined by the dominant culture, to be a parent, and intersects with eugenics. Disabled parents go against the grain of expected social roles "they act against the expectations that they can either be a parent or be sexual.".

Disabled women coming out face specific problems in their community due to stereotypes about how fems and dykes "should" look and disabled women sometimes face barriers around issues of presentation. It's hard to look fem in orthopedic shoes.

Sexuality for disabled lesbians can be liberating. The traditional expectations on how to do sex, i.e. the standard missionary position, is not a pressure. There is more communication about pleasure, likes and dislikes in general in the lesbian community. How often do newly connected straight couples get in a serious pre-coital conversation about what feels the best to them? "Experimentation in sex is sex", and Corbett argues that communication is higher in the lesbian community, and the sex encourages feedback. Disabilities are naturally incorporated into sexual experimentation, and disabled lesbians are a growing voice in the disability movement overall.

Many other presenters covered topics ranging far and wide, including Dominic Davies, a delightful/insightful person, and co-author of the*Sexual Politics of Disability*, who launched a proposal on a future sex and relationship facilitation project. Others presented on sexuality and cognitive disabilities, psychiatric illness and sexuality, gay and queer issues, accessing reproductive health care for disabled women, eugenics, minorities and disabilities, US laws and regulations that marginalize and oppress disabled parents, forced sterilization, devoteeism, or the fetishizing of disabilities and others. Giving voice to the issues of identity, disability, sexuality and culture, this area of academia is well grounded in both the personal and the political.

Should the disabled community transform society via working within the system and through personal change, or by challenging the status quo through direct confrontation with the structures of oppression. Tom Shakespeare calls on three thinkers as illustrative of useful ways of thinking about how change is created. Lenin, when asked how radical should a person said, "I don't know how radical you are, nor myself, all I know is this: you have to be as radical as life itself". Carlisle states "to reform a world or a state, no wise man would ever undertake, the only true revolution is that which people operate on themselves". Lastly, he quoted Che Guevara, "the true revolutionary is guided by a strong feeling of love". Incorporating all three of these discourses requires solidarity, resistance, commitment and strategy, all of which were planted in seedling form at SFSU and hopefully will take root and grow to become a wild blooming flower.

To access information on sexuality and disabilities, you can subscribe to the sex and disability listserv by emailing Dr. Devva Kasnitz: at devva@wid.org. This listserv focuses on political and intellectual analysis and discussion of the field. You can access specific information on a variety of disability sexuality topics from sexualhealth.com, thriveonlive.com or about.com.

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Bombing Iraq Into The Stone Age

If you thought the bombing of Iraq by the United States was over, you're mistaken. Since the four-day military action against Iraq in December 1998 titled "Desert Fox," US and British warplanes have carried out 20,000 sorties in northern and southern Iraq over the last 16 months. US media has reported little of the continuation of air strikes against Iraq to the American public preventing citizens from voicing opposition or concerns.

Recently other nations have begun speaking out in protest of the US and Britain's on-going militaristic harassment of Iraq. The People's Republic of China urged both nations to halt military action against Iraq and to cancel the "no-fly" zones. "China is really concerned over the recent developments in Iraq and feels deeply uneasy for the civilian casualties caused by the bombing," stated Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi.

France has also strongly condemned recent US/British air raids in Iraq. French Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Anne Gazeau-Secret stated, "We reaffirm our incomprehension, our profound unease in relation to the pursuit and intensification of the air strikes against Iraq, in which the people are the principal victims."

Nelson Mandela, former South African president, had the strongest words. He accused Britain and the US of "encouraging international chaos by ignoring other nations and playing 'policeman of the world'" and suggested that their actions represented possible racist motives.

Along with the economic embargo, US and British air strikes have helped to push Iraq to new economic lows. Prior to Desert Storm, Iraq enjoyed a GDP of $60,000 billion. In *The Economist*'s "The World in 1999," Iraq's GDP has dropped to just $5.7 billion (2% of the United State's military budget) with an annual per capita of only $247. According to the International Red Cross, "the situation of the civilian population is increasingly desperate. Deteriorating living conditions, inflation, and low salaries make people's everyday lives a continuing struggle." Since "Desert Fox" the US and Britain have "waged a war of attrition" with "almost daily bombings" of military targets in a country slightly larger than the state of Montana. Obvious is their intent to eliminate Iraq's defense capabilities, and to force the Iraqi people to remove Saddam Hussein from power. Equally obvious is the Iraqi people's determination not to comply.

Did someone mention Vietnam, Ireland perhaps?

This timeline contains reported attacks, and casualties from 12/28/98 through 4/20/00. Photos were provided by the *Iraqi News Agency*.

Sources: ***The Mennonite Central Committee; Middle East Council of Churches; Voices in the Wilderness, Reuters, and Associated Press***

12/28/98 US jets hit an anti-aircraft base near Mosul city.

1/5/99 Clashes between Iraqi aircrafts and US aircrafts in the southern no-fly zone.

1/11/99 US jets hit an anti-aircraft base near Mosul city.

1/12/99 US warplanes hit an anti-aircraft base near Mosul city

1/13/99 US warplanes hit an anti-aircraft base near Mosul city and near Basra city.

1/23/99 US fighters strike two Iraqi defence missile batteries in southern Iraq.

1/24/99 Allied warplanes hit an anti-aircraft base near Mosul city.

1/25/99 A Cruise missile struck Al-Jumhuriya residential area, while bombers attacked Abu Flos, Abu Kaseeb, Basra airport and Al-Rumeila oil field. 17 people killed, 100 persons injured and 45 houses damaged.

1/26/99 US warplanes hit an anti-aircraft base near Mosul city.

1/29/99 Allied fighters fire 17 missiles on Iraqi air defenses in the northern no-fly zone

1/30/99 Allied fighters fire 7 missiles on Iraqi air defenses in the southern no-fly zone. Allied fighters fires 1 missile on Iraqi air defenses near Mosul city .

2/2/99 Allied fighters fire 3 air-to-ground missiles, a food supply center in Al-Najaf was hit. Allied fighters fire 3 air-to-ground missiles near Mosul city. Surface to surface missiles fired from GOI side during US/UK air raid hit Dohuk area.

2/9/99 One missile hits ground in Sumail village-12Km west of Dohuk, and another one hits ground in Moqbal village-6 Km west of Dohuk. Missiles hit in northern and southern no-fly zones.

2/10/99 Allied jets fire 14 bombs and missiles at Iraqi defenses in Thaiqar and Najaf. Air defenses in Basrah and northern no-fly zone also hit. In Najaf at Al-Hizam area, one person killed and 8 injured.

Allied fighters fire air-to-ground missiles at the defenses in the northern no-fly zone.

2/11/99 Allied fighters fire air-to-ground missiles at the defenses in the northern no-fly zone.

2/12/99 (19) surface-to-surface missiles fire from GOI side during US/UK air raid hit Dohuk area. (13) explode on the ground, unoccupied newly constructed house. 6 missiles do not explode. Sharia village, 4.5 Km south of Dohuk hit by two missiles. Tikish village, 9 Km also hit. Allied fighters fire air-to-ground missiles at the air defenses in the northern no-fly zone. Extensive damage to a 3 story house in Dohuk.

2/13/99 A civil institution in Thiqar was attacked. Another bombing took place in Al-Fao city. A fisherman's jetty was hit and some civilians were injured. An air defence site in Al-Fao, southern Iraq, and targets near Talil, 200 Km south of Baghdad were also hit. Three civilians were killed and many others injured.

2/15/99 Allied fighters bomb areas around Thiqar, Missan and Basra. 33 explosions were reported from three villages, previously affected by the shelling around Dohuk city. Most of the explosions take place in the air and no damage is reported. 5 persons killed and 22 injured.

2/16/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites located in the southern no-fly zone.

2/19/99 Allied jets fire [at a] target in the northern no-fly zone.

2/21/99 Allied warplanes hit anti-aircraft bases near Basra city, Amarah and Talil.

2/22/99 Allied warplanes drop 11 laser-guided bombs on multiple Iraqi anti-aircraft guns and radar sites near the city of Mosul in the northern no-fly zone. Allied warplanes hit an an anti-aircraft base near Basra City. Two civilians injured in Mosul. One killed and another injured near Basrah.

2/23/99 Allied warplanes hit anti-aircraft bases in Basrah city, Thiqar, Al-Muthanna and Missan - In the northern no-fly zone the allied jets flew over Dohuk, Nineva and Erbil and hit an anti-aircraft base.

2/24/99 Allied warplanes attack Al-Iskenderiya about 55 Km south of Baghdad. 3 civilians killed and 5 wounded.

2/27/99 Allied warplanes flew over Meisan, Basrah, Dhiqar, Najaf and Muthana, and military sites hit in Missan (Amarah). 23 civilians wounded in Amarah.

2/28/99 Allied warplanes attack sites in the northern no-fly zone near Mosul city. 3 civilians were killed in the Rabe'ea and Al-tyniyh villages. Communication center of oil repeater station No.6 (120 Km south of Zakho) hit by allied missiles. One person was killed and two others were injured.

3/1/99 Severe missile attacks around Mosul city - 30 bombs- communication center targeted. 2nd oil control system (communication) near Ain Zala (Mosul) hit. One civilian killed, nine injured.

3/4/99 Allied warplanes attack an Iraqi radar site 22 Km south of Basrah city - Itsh Shuaybah. Allied warplanes attack the southern governorates of Basrah, Thiqar and Al-Muthana. Warplanes drop two bombs on a private farm in Basrah.

3/6/99 Allied warplanes fire at utilities and several military sites in the southern governorates of Basrah, Missan, Thiqar and Al-Muthana. Several civilians were injured.

3/8/99 Allied warplanes bomb areas around Mosul. One person was injured. Allied warplanes carry out bombing in the southern no-fly zone. Another air raid took place in the evening in the southern governorates of Thiqar, Basrah, Missan and Muthana. Five bombs fired at air defence sites.

3/9/99 Allied warplanes bomb utility buildings and military weapons around Mosul.

3/10/99 Allied warplanes bomb several sites in the south no-fly zone. A GOU team on return back from Thiqar to Basrah heard a big explosion about 200 meters from the main road.

3/12/99 Allied warplanes bomb some utility buildings and anti-aircraft weapon sites around Mosul.

3/14/99 Allied warplanes carry out bombing in the northern and southern no-fly zones.

3/15/99 Allied jets made several sorties in the governorates of Thiqar, Muthana, Missan, Basrah and Najaf. One civilian was injured. Allied jets fire eight bombs at utility and military sites in northern no-fly zone.

3/16/99 Allied jets attack several weapon sites and utility buildings in Mosul.

3/19/99 Allied jets made several sorties over the governorates of Thiqar , Muthana, Missan, Basrah and Najaf. They fire at utility buildings and weapon sites. One civilian injured.

4/1/99 Allied warplanes carry out bombing in the northern and southern no-fly zones. Warplanes bomb and destroy a key control center, Hamdan Station, the main pumping station used by Iraq to export oil via the southern Iraq terminal of Missan.

4/4/99 Allied warplanes carry out several sorties in the southern no-fly zone. The planes raid the village of Effach in Qadessiya governorate. US and British warplanes destroy an Iraq oil piping control station in southern Iraq at Al-Uzair station.

4/7/99 Allied warplanes carry out 40 sorties in the southern no-fly zone.

4/10/99 Allied warplanes carry out 33 sorties in the southern no-fly zone. The planes fly over the areas of Artawa, Al-Salman, Samawa, Diwaniya, Al-Jaliba and Nasiriya.

4/11/99 Allied warplanes carry out 23 sorties in the southern no-fly zone. The planes fly over Artawa, Al-Jaliba, Al-Salman, Samawa and Qla'at Sukkar villages, firing at utility buildings and weapon sites. Two civilians killed and nine injured.

4/15/99 Allied warplanes carry out several sorties in the southern no-fly zone. They drop 16 bombs at utility buildings and weapon sites near Basrah.

4/17/99 Allied warplanes carry out several sorties in the southern no-fly zone. Another air raid takes place in the northern no-fly zone. 4 civilians killed and and one injured.

4/19/99 US and UK jets carry out 36 sorties over Nassiriya, Samawa, Basrah, Imara and Najaf governorates. Allied planes carry out 16 sorties over the areas of Dohuk, Erbil, Zakho, Aqrah and Mosul. They bomb utility buildings and weapon sites near Mosul.

4/24/99 Allied planes bomb some arable land in Al-Qaddissiya governorate. An unspecified number of civilians injured.

4/27/99 Allied warplanes carry out 31 sorties over Nineva Governorate. One civilian killed.

4/29/99 Allied warplanes carry out several sorties over the areas of Nineva Governorate. The jets fire one missile at a residential area in Al-Wehdah/Mosul city. At Al-Wehdah area of Mosul, 19 civilians injured and 14 houses damaged.

4/30/99 Allied warplanes carry out several sorties over the areas of Nineva Governorate. The jets fired four missiles at Bashiqa area near Mosul city. At Kuban village (30 Km - Mosul) 7 civilians killed, a shepherd and six members of his family. 101 livestock killed and 1 vehicle damaged.

5/7/99 Allied jets carry out 48 sorties over the southern governorates of Basrah, Missan and Muthana. In the northern no-fly zone allied planes carry out 18 sorties over the governorates of Dohuk, Erbil and Mosul. Three civilians killed.

5/9/99 Allied jet-fighters carry out bombing in the governorates of Thiqar, Basrah, Muthana, Al-Mosa, Al-Alwa, Al-Sarffe and Missan. At Abu-El-Khassaab one civilian killed and two others wounded. At Qurna, three civilians killed and and three wounded in a house.

5/10/99 Allied warplanes carry out bombing in Nineva. Allied warplanes fly over the governorates of Basrah, Muthana and Thiqar. One civilian injured in the north.

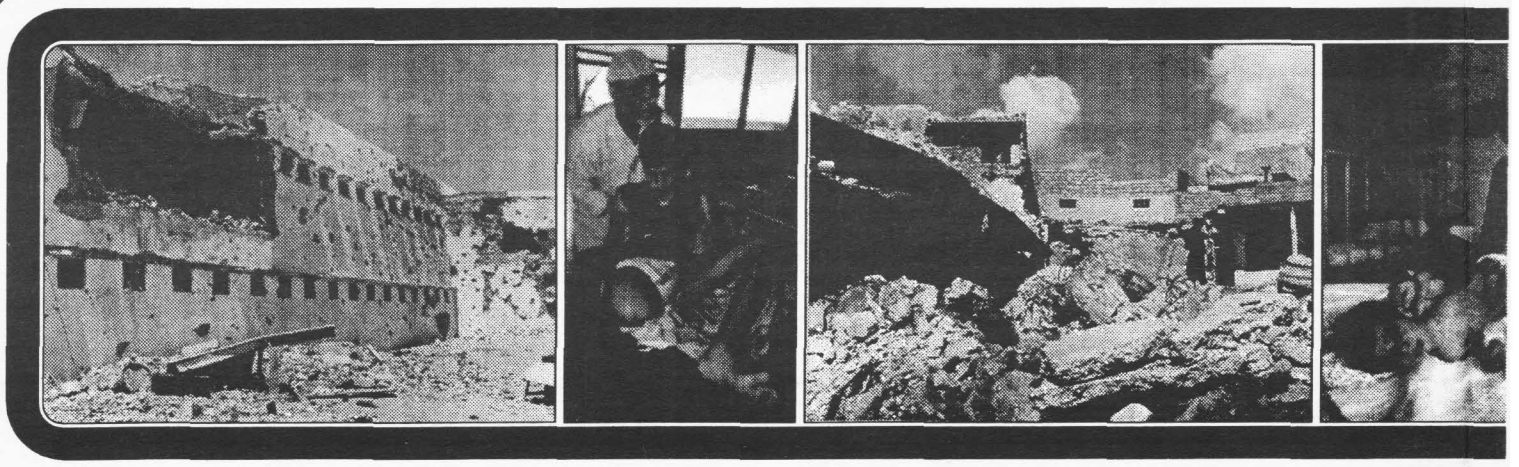
5/11/99 Allied warplanes bomb a military installation 80 Km north of Basrah city. The location is 10 m. far from the main road at Al Mosa, Al Alwa, Al-Qurna and Al Sarffe. One civilian and three soldiers killed and two injured.

5/12/99 Allied warplanes fly over the governorates of ThiQar, Muthana, Basrah and Missan. In the northern no-fly zone, skirmishes took place yesterday afternoon. The planes reportedly fired at service facilities around Mosul. Two were killed and seven others wounded in the south. Air strike between 11:00 hrs. and 13:00 hrs. in the village of Abuwini, 90 Km NW of Mosul, 14 shepherd/farmers were killed and 22 were injured. 300 livestock also killed, 1 vehicle, 1 wagon and 1 harvester were destroyed.

5/15/99 Allied warplanes attack installations south to the 36 latitude and some military sites in Mosul. No casualties were reported.

5/23/99 Allied warplanes attack installations and military sites near Mosul. Two civilians injured.

5/25/99 Allied warplanes attack some service facilities in Mosul causing some damage. No casualties reported.



6/2/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities and military camps south of Mosul city. Three civilians injured.

6/3/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities and military camps near Mosul city. Three civilians injured.

6/6/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities and military camps in Muthana and Thiqar governorates.

6/8/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and military sites near Mosul city. One person killed in Bertella village.

6/9/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities and military sites near Mosul and in the southern no-fly zone.

6/15/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities and military sites in Mosul city. No casualties reported.

6/16/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities and military sites in Thiqar, Basrah, Najaf, Missan and Qadissiya. One person injured.

6/18/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities and military site east of Mosul city. One person injured.

6/21/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities north and east of Mosul city. Another air strike takes place in the southern no-fly zone near Samawa. 6 persons injured in Samawa.

6/22/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities near Mosul city.

6/24/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities in basrah, ThiQar, Nissan and Muthana. Four persons injured.

6/25/99 Allied warplanes attack several service facilities in Basrah, ThiQar, Nissan and Muthana. One person killed in Al-Gharraf village near Nasiriya and several others wounded in different places in Nasiriya.

6/28/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities in the northern no-fly zone southwest of Mosul city. No casualties reported.

7/2/99 Allied warplanes attack radar facility near Mosul city. No casualties reported.

7/8/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities in the northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

7/13/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and 13 air defence targets near Mosul in the northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

7/14/99 Allied warplanes attack several military and radar sites west of Mosul city in the northern no-fly zone. Three persons injured.

7/16/99 Allied warplanes hit communications center in the south-east of Mosul. No casualties reported.

7/18/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities in the southern no-fly zone in Abu Sukhayr between Najaf and Samawa (12 Km south of Najaf, about 200 Km from Baghdad) and Al-Khider on Samawa-Nasiriya road (300 Km south of Baghdad, about 40 Km south of Samawa). Another air strike takes place in th e northern no-fly zone, several facilities hit. 17 persons killed and 18 injured. A number of houses were demolished in the Al-Manathra area in Abu Sukhay in najaf governorate. AFP news by Karim Sahib (July 20) reports: 4 missiles crash on or near a main road leading south from the city of Najaf and several cars burn in Sunday's attack-crater on the road. A pregnant woman and her husband are killed in a Pick-up truck and 6 others in an all-terrain car.

7/26/99 Allied warplanes attack radar site and facilities north of Mosul city in the northern no-fly zone. No casualties are reported.

7/27/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities near Mosul city in the northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

7/28/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities near Mosul city in the northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

7/29/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities at Al-Kut (170 Km south east of Baghdad). several facilities near Mosul city (Al-Jarrar and Al- Numanniya) in the northern no-fly zone also hit. 8 persons killed and 25 injured in Kut. 1 person injured in Mosul.

7/30/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installation s north and north west of Mosul city in the northern no-fly zone. Another air strike takes place in the southern no-fly zone. A facility in Najaf is hit.6 persons killed and 21 injured in the northern no-fly zone near Mosul city. In the southern no-fly zone, 3 persons killed and two injured in Najaf. (Total: 9 killed and 23 injured)

8/4/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in Nineva. One person killed and two injured.

8/8/99 Allied warplanes bomb anti-aircraft artillery sites north of the cit y of Mosul.

8/9/99 Allied warplanes bomb anti-aircraft artillery sites north of the cit y of Mosul.

8/10/99 US-British warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in Nineva. They also attack several sites in the south no-fl y zone near Basrah, Missan, ThiQar and Muthana. Two persons injured in the north. One person injured in the south of Al-Muthana governorate.

8/13/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in northern no-fly zone near Mosul. For the first time since beginning of the aerial confrontation the Iraqi side uses anti-aircraft missiles. 8/15/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in northern no-fly zone near Mosul and southern no-fly zone i n Missan. Three persons injured and one mosque destroyed in Saddam Dam area near Mosul. In Missan 4 persons killed and few houses in Al-Rabania and Al-Huda demolished.

8/16/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in northern no-fly zone in northern and western Mosul and southern no-fly zone in Missan, Basrah, Al-Muthana and wasit. Three persons killed and 9 persons injured in Missan.

8/17/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations outside of the no-fly zone (below 36 parallel). Also, they attack several facilities in Missan, Basrah, ThiQar, Wasit and Al-Qadissiya. 8 persons killed and 9 persons injured in Mosul. 1 person injured in Missan, 11 persons killed and 1 injured in Jassan town in Wasit.

8/23/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities near Mosul. Also, they attack several facilities in Al-Muthannah. 2 persons killed and one person injured in Basheeka City near Mosul.

8/24/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and and service installations near Mosul.

8/28/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in northern no-fly zone near Mosul. 5 persons injured near Mosul.

9/1/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations near Mosul in northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

9/2/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in southern Mosul in the northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

9/3/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations near Mosul in northern no-fly zone. 1 person injured.

9/9/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in Missan, Basrah and Thiqar. 11 persons injured in Basrah. 1 person killed and 2 injured in Al-Muthana.

9/10/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites near Mosul. No casualties reported.

9/13/99 Allied warplanes bomb near Mosul.

9/14/99 Allied warplanes bomb areas near Basrah.

9/21/99 Allied warplanes bomb Ur (375 Km south of Baghdad). A Swedish journalist, Jan Arrell (Goldenbeerg Post) sustains minor injuries. According to Jan, "the bomb hit 15-20 meters in front of our car just on th e side of the road. The windshield is broken.

9/25/99 Allied warplanes bomb Al-Fao peninsula near Iraq's Arabian coast.

9/27/99 Allied warplanes bomb areas close to Amarah and Kut. According to INA, 6 persons, including two girls, are injured and a number of houses demolished in Al-Mezbaniya village near Amarah. According to AFP, in Abu Shateeb (near Amarah), 12 persons, including three young children, are injured and 40 sheep killed. Also, a dozen houses are damaged.

10/3/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations near Mosul. Also, they bomb anti-aircraft artillery sites north of the city of Mosul. No casualties reported.

10/6/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations near Mosul. No casualties reported.

10/11/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in south of Iraq. No casualties reported.

10/14/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations near Mosul. No casualties reported.

10/16/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in the south of Iraq. One person killed and two injured in south of Iraq near Al-Kut.

10/17/99 Allied warplanes bomb several facilities and service installations near Mosul. No casualties reported.

10/25/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in north of Iraq near Mosul. Two persons killed and seven injured in north of Iraq near Mosul.

10/28/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities in north of Iraq near Mosul. One person injured near Mosul city.

10/30/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in south of Iraq. One person injured in south of Iraq.

11/1/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in northern no-fly zone, northern and western Mosul and southern no-fly zon e in Missan, Basrah, Al-Muthanna and Wasit. No casualties reported.

11/3/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations near Mosul in northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

11/5/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations in south of Iraq. Two persons injured in south of Iraq.

11/8/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations near Mosul in northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

11/9/99 Allied warplanes attack several facilities and service installations near Mosul in northern no-fly zone. No casualties reported.

11/11/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq. No casualties reported.

11/13/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq. No casualties reported.

11/14/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq and north near Mosul. No casualties reported.

11/18/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq. No casualties reported.

11/19/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq. No casualties reported.

11/22/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites south and north of Iraq. Ten persons injured in south of Iraq near Al-Basrah.

11/28/99 Allied warplanes attack Al-Zanabek primary school north of Iraq (Al-Zuhuor District/Mosul/400 Km north of Baghdad.) Eight people, including an unspecified number of women and three children, are injured. Apart from tne school, nearby homes and two civilian cars are also damaged.

11/29/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq.

11/30/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq.

12/1/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq.

12/2/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south and north of Iraq.

12/4/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq near Al-Mosul. One person injured in north of Iraq near Al-Mosul.

12/6/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq. No casualties were reported.

12/12/99 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq. Two children killed and six persons injured, including one woman and five children. Three houses are also demolished.

1/9/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in south of Iraq. Three persons injured in south of Iraq near Al-Basrah.

1/11/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq.

1/12/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq (near Mosul) . One person killed and one injured.

1/13/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq (near Mosul) .

1/14/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq (near Mosul) .

1/17/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq (near Mosul) . One person injured.

1/31/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq (near Mosul) .

2/3/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq (near Mosul/Basheeka).

2/8/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites in north of Iraq (near Mosul/Basheeka).

2/9/00 Allied warplanes attack several sites north and south of Iraq. Three persons killed and eight injured in south of Iraq.

2/10/00 Allied warplanes attacked several sites in north of Iraq (near Mosul). Two persons injured in north of Iraq.

2/21/2000 US jets bomb an Iraqi air defense system in Iraq's northern no-fly zone.

3/11/2000 US and British warplanes attack targets in southern Iraq, injuring eight civilians. 3/15/2000 US and British warplanes raid targets in southern Iraq killing one civilian and injuring six

4/4/2000 Allied warplanes bomb sites in southern Iraq. Two civilians killed and two wounded.

4/5/2000 Allied warplanes bomb an Iraqi air-defense system after Iraqi forces fire artillery during the planes' regular patrol of the northern no-fly zone.

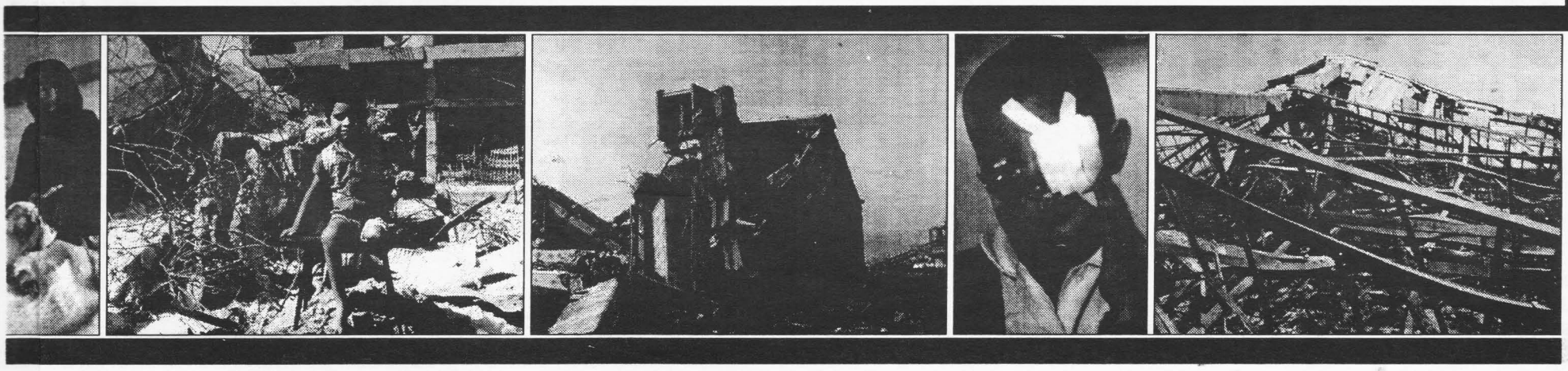
4/6/2000 Allied warplanes fire on anti-aircraft (artillery). 15 people killed and 19 injured.

4/9/2000 Allied warplanes bomb an Iraqi air-defense system in northern Iraq.

4/11/2000 US warplanes bomb Iraq's air defense system about 250 miles north of Baghdad

4/16/2000 Western aircraft had attack targets in the north Iraq.

. . . to be continued (unfortunately)



Political prisoner Cook released from WA prison

Another one of our revolutionary veterans, former Black Panther Party Member, Mark Cook, was released from the Washington prison institute on 4/3/00 after spending 24 years in a cell. He was the last of the George Jackson Brigade members to remain locked up despite being a "model" prisoner.

He deserves to come out to the welcome arms of community activists and a minimal trust fund to draw from. There are no social security or community programs to make easier the transition to the world outside of physical prison walls.

Why should you give money to Mark Cook? Well, the people who are most likely to support Mark are not the rich oil tycoons or Microsoft Millionaires; Mark was and is a hero of the working class and therefore someone who we need to support. He has spent twenty-four years in prison for a conviction whose average sentence is seven years. During this period of time he has worked hard to improve the conditions inside prison by working as a jailhouse lawyer and a certified conflict mediator. As laws, penalties, and sentences become stricter and more unreasonable, the activism you do is either illegal or soon to be illegal. Many of us could be and have been to prison for the activism we all are doing right now and doubtless we would want financial support during and after our sentences. Help make this type of fundraising a tradition in Seattle by contributing to Mark's fund.

Washington Prison Project is a fully volunteer organization and all checks are written directly to Mark Cook. Please support this local revolutionary as he emerges from the prison system. He has made tremendous sacrifices and deserves to be honored for his contribution to the revolution.

What can you contribute? Please send checks made out to Mark Cook to: c/o Washington Prison Project PO Box 14361 Seattle, WA 98144 If you would like this donation to be tax deductible, please call 206/324-8615 or 206/324-8647 and ask for Ronica or Scott.

Book Review

Roots of Justice: Organizing in Communities of Color

Wendy C. Ortiz

Roots of Justice: Stories of Organizing in Communities of Color by Larry Salomon. Chardon Press: Berkeley, CA, 1998.

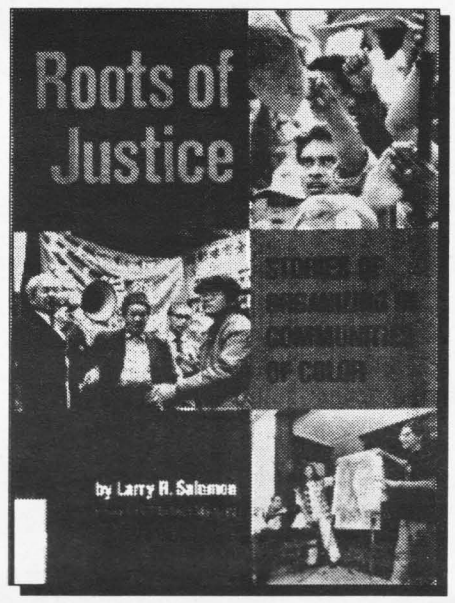
I was not aware of social justice movements where I grew up until I was about fourteen. I attended my first protest, of a chemical plant that was possibly going to be located in my friends' part of the San Fernando Valley. Frankly, I don't remember the details of the protest, or even whether or not the plant went up at all, but from there on, I recall most of the other protests, demonstrations, and activist work I involved myself in as a teenager and into my twenties, none of which could be called strategic organizing, or even movement work grounded in coalition. I am used to the hungry feeling of wanting, needing, history lessons that validate grassroots activism and makes movements alive and accessible. *Roots of Justice: Stories of Organizing in Communities of Color* is a compilation of moving stories about tactical, tangible, and strategic organizing—actions that got the goods and forever changed future activism across color and class lines.

> ***"Roots of Justice...is a compilation of moving stories about tactical, tangible, and strategic organizing – actions that got the goods and forever changed future activism across color and class lines."***

With a foreword by Elizabeth Martinez, and a significant reference list, this book is not only a primer in political organizing and direct action, but an amazing historical document that chronicles various important, and sometimes overlooked, movements directed by communities of color in the United States in the last one-hundred and fifty years.

Beginning with the organizing better known as the Underground Railroad, author Larry R. Salomon tells twelve stories of effectual direct action. Filipino farmworkers organizing in the 1930s, the "Zoot Suit Riots" (yes, it has a meaning, it's not just a song by a hip corporate-label band) in 1940's Los Angeles, African Americans organizing for a place in the job market in early 1960's San Francisco: these are just some of the movements that Salomon chronicles. There is also a concise history of the U.S. welfare system and organizing that took place in the 1960s, led largely by women, in order to get needs met such as food, rent, furniture, and clothing. "You Are Now On Indian Land" tells the story of the occupation of Alcatraz by Native Americans, and a chapter about the Trail of Broken Treaties is also included. The Japanese American movement to receive reparations concludes this slim volume of history.

One-hundred and fifty pages is hardly enough to cover all the different types of movements initiated by people of color in this country, and Salomon is cognizant of this. Salomon is up front with the reader that he wishes this book to be a condensed historical document of movements no one should forget, and more people need to learn; the book is by no means an exhaustive study, footnoted for the academically-minded. He states in his introduction that his survey of this rich history is not to glorify the leaders or "usual suspects" that are so often portrayed as the messiahs of a movement. Instead, we hear about movements for social justice, including the struggle by Filipino Americans to save the I-Hotel in San Francisco, a place of cultural heritage and value and Mexican American women boldly challenging gender stereotypes in the 1950s as they organize, creatively and consciously, against a mining company in New Mexico. The stories, though brief, pack a lot of punch. It is accessible, portable, and even affordable, and belongs in every activist's personal library.



As an activist, the stories in *Roots of Justice* now hold a place in my memory, to be drawn on for inspiration, pride in the ordinary and admiration for the extraordinary. Hope lives in its pages. This is history: informative, moving and essential to future waves of activism. This is history as good as it gets.

Chardon Press of Berkeley, CA is available at www.chardonpress.com.

Your Help Is Needed

Because of the huge number of letters Books to Prisoners - Olympia Support Group receives each month and its limited resources, requests often wait many months to be filled. Thousands of letters still remain in boxes. Your help and generosity are urgently needed.

If we desire individuals in this country's prisons to be caring, thoughtful and sympathetic, then we too need to be caring, thoughtful and sympathetic. We need to "walk the talk." Please donate your time, money or books.

In greatest demand are:

English, Spanish/English, Southeast Asian dictionaries, thesaurus, new almanacs, and GED books.

Frequently requested are:

African-American, Chicano/Latino, and Native American history and progressive U.S. history.

Please donate:

- Any other good books
- Stamps and stamp money
- Money for tape, wrapping paper, and copying

Please bring donations of books to the Books to Prisoner at Olympia World News at 116 4th Ave in downtown Olympia

Please make checks payable to Books to Prisoners.

Hours: Currently, the business hours are from 9:00 am to 9:30 pm daily. Please call the message phone below and leave a message.

Address: Books to Prisoners
116 4th Ave, Olympia WA 98501

Message Phone: (360)943-2375

- Open drop in work/training sessions every Thurs. 3-9 pm in the back of Olympia World News. *Training takes 1 hour. Once you are trained you can work anytime we are open.*
- **BTP Volunteer Potluck** - 3rd Sat. of the month, 3 pm at 116 E. 4th Ave.
- **Save UPC code from Western Family Products &** send to B to P, 116 E 4th Ave, Olympia, WA 98501
- Keep turning in Bayview and Ralph's receipts. The program is switching to a new system soon.

Inmates — All correspondence to Books to Prisoners *must* go through the main branch:

Books to Prisoners
Left Bank Books
92 Pike Street
Seattle WA 98101

Letters & Briefs, cont.

Know Your Rights Workshop at the Surrey Lane Apartments on Wednesday, May 24th. Call 352-9716 for more details.

On Wed., May 24 at 7:30pm in the Olympia Timberland Library, Olympia's John Deviny will speak on the popular book "**Your Money or Your Life**" and work of the New Road Map Foundation in Seattle. The book, by Seattle authors Vicki Rovin and Joe Dominguez, stresses taking control of your life by gaining control of your finances. For more info call the NW Earth Institute at 705-2884.

In Search of the Big Picture Video Gathering

Tuesday, May 15th (The third Tuesday)

at 7pm at Traditions Fair Trade

This month's video will be: *Sustainable Futures*. As usual there will be free popcorn and a discussion afterward. Hope to see you there. Presented by Olympia Fellowship of Reconcillation and Media Island International.

Internet Community Connections

Fertile Groundis about life in Olympia, with lots of local community links and pictures. Our goal is to demonstrate ALL the various ways we can work toward sustainability in our community. We would love to include links to any existing local websites that you can suggest, as well as CREATE YOUR GROUP'S PAGE and hang it on Fertile Ground's site at no charge. <http://fertileground.org>

"A Community Calendar" thanks you for your contribution. To submit, edit or update your event information, please use the following URL <http://www.Protest.Net/Olympia/calendrome.cgi>

SUNDAY BUS SERVICE

The aftermath of I-695 may have eliminated services by Intercity Transit on Sunday, but it has not detered concerned citizens from stepping in with their own volunteer transit service. The Oly Free Bus provides free rides (donations accepted) on Sundays for the following routes:

41 - Leaves OTC at Noon and 2:00

44 - Leaves OTC at 1:00 and 3:00

62 - Leaves OTC at 11:00

66 - Leaves OTC at 12:15

12/13 - Leaves OTC at Noon and runs every 1/2 hour

Off-route service can be arranged by calling 789-3614 (Sun. only). We also maintain a vehicle that is wheelchair accessible.

Since the Oly Free Bus relies entirely on donations and volunteers, we always need drivers and supplies. Operated primarily anarchists, the Oly Free Bus is supported also by the Disabled People's Liberation Front, Alliance for Public Transportation, Media Island Internation and the Industrial Workers of the World. We support laid-off drivers and workers from IT and other transit systems in Washington State.

Dance O' Dance 2000.

We will now be seen on (TCTV channel 29) TUESDAYs at 4pm and FRIDAY at 8pm. As always, any age, any style, any experience level of dancers are welcome at any time during the broadcast. Call ahead to reserve a spotlight dance and request music: (360) 866-4524 or e-mail to justinb@writeme.com Technicians should arrive at 6pm, Dancers at 7pm. We will gather afterwards to view our creation.

Please visit the website for a complete listing of dancers and music used throughout the past 30 episodes. Sign the guestbook and forge a link, and I will reciprocate ASAP. <http://www.danceodance.com>

Judi Bari Updates

MAY 19, 2000 Targets of FBI COINTELPRO (covert action tactics) Friday May 19th, 7:00 PM Ashkenaz 1317 San Pablo Ave. (at Gilman) Berkeley, CA featuring: Jose Lopez, Puerto Rican leader John Trudell, AIM leader Angela Davis (invited) Assata Shakur (on videotape) Black Panthers Judi Bari (on videotape) Earth First! with music by The Coup, Darryl Cherney, Jello Biafra, Rebecca Riots

MAY 24, 2000Fiddle Down the FBI Rally Commemorate the 10th anniversary of the car bomb assassination attempt vs. Earth First! leaders Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney Wednesday May 24th- Noon San Francisco Federal Bldg. 450 Golden Gate (at Polk)

Sponsored by: Redwood Summer Justice Project PO Box 14720 Santa Rosa, CA 95402 Phone 415-648-4505 or 707-887-0262; The Official Judi Bari Website: www.judibari.org

These special events mark May 24, 2000, the 10th anniversary of the beginning of Redwood Summer and the car-bomb assassination attempt against Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney. A motion-triggered anti-personnel bomb went off under Judi's car seat as she and Darryl traveled through Oakland, California while organizing for their Redwood Summer campaign. The FBI tried unsuccessfully to frame the non-violent victims for their own bombing. No charges were ever filed against them. Judi and Darryl filed a federal civil rights suit against the FBI and Oakland Police for failing to investigate the bombing, conspiracy to violate their rights to organize politically in defense of the forest, false arrest and unlawful search. Though Judi died of cancer on March 2, 1997, her estate and Darryl are committed to bringing the FBI and Oakland Police to trial to preserve the rights of all nonviolent activists against police repression.

BODY POLITICS - Challenging Race, Gender and Class Privilege, and Developing New Revolutionary personal politics

MAY 22-28 Eugene, Oregon- As part of the "9 Weeks of Revolt" series of workshops, forums, teach-ins and ACTION! <http://www.efn.org/~eae> Write <eae@efn.org> with ideas and questions or call (541) 684-8977

Tenant Talk

United We Stand ...

When tenants work together to organize for improvements in their buildings and to fight illegal actions by their landlord, they meet resistance. Just like workers face union busting from the boss when organizing at their job, tenants often face "union busting" from landlords.

People in powerful positions know that their power is threatened when the people whose backs they're standing on organize. When people work together their power grows. There is strength in numbers. People in power also know a group is weaker when divided.

Divide and conquer is an age-old way of derailing successful organizing. Even though we've all seen people do this to others—at work, in politics, or even among our friends and loved ones—it's easy to get blindsided by divide and conquer tactics.

The most important step in stopping landlords from dividing us is to acknowledge the tactic at the first meeting. Ask the group to make the commitment to work together collectively. This means making agreements with the landlord as a group, not as individuals. Spend the time to talk about the incredible power tenants have for creating substantial long-term gains when sticking together. Short-term gains may be won by individuals, but long term gains come through direct action.

Here is a typical example of divide and conquer. Let's say you and neighbors are all set up for negotiations. You've gone over your demands and your issues and practiced for the meeting. The owner arrives and walks in all smiles. He approaches your neighbor. "Maria!" he says, and takes her aside. "I've just ordered that new fridge you wanted. It's brand new and has that ice dispenser you asked for. Now don't tell everyone, I can't afford to do this for everyone. But you've always been such a good tenant, not like some of those others."

The owner in this story uses age-old means to divide and conquer. First, he bestows a favor to Maria as an individual, instead of the group. This is an attempt to win her over and weaken the group's power to win their demands. Next, the landlord tries to isolate and separate the tenant leader by telling her she is better than her neighbors. Finally, he makes the favor contingent on her keeping a secret from her neighbors.

Maria can turn these tactics around and make the group's position stronger. She can announce that she appreciates the refrigerator, but that the entire group wants their issues addressed, and ice-maker or not, they are sticking together. If Maria has a weak moment and takes the offer, the rest of the group can turn it around by getting mad at the owner, not Maria, and demand that all tenants receive equal and fair treatment.

A more obvious means to divide and conquer is flat out harassment. Tenant leaders often face the most harassment. Harassment can include giving notices for small rule violations, threatening eviction, opening the mail of the tenant council, or raising the rent. Sometimes, landlords and managers spread false rumors about tenants who are organizing. This can include discrediting the Tenants Union.

The best way to protect yourself against harassment is to not give the landlord any legitimate reason to take action against you. Document your actions, and be prepared for retaliation. Talk with your neighbors about what kind of harassment you might face before it happens. Decide how you'll deal with it, both individually and collectively.

Reprinted from Real Change newspaper: Tenant Talk.

The Tharston County Tenants Union has a monthly public clinic on the 2nd Monday of each month. Call 357-0165 for details.

Get your very own poster!

Everyone Deserves a Fair Trial

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal

These are *the* authentic posters previously printed in the pages of *Works In Progress.*

*** 11 x17 for *Mumia***
*** 22 x 34 for *No War***

= Act now and get a 11x17 size *Stop The Sanctions on Iraq* poster absolutely free with purchase of *No War*

Send $1 for one or $1.50 for both to :

WIP PO Box 295 Olympia, WA 98507

(Sorry no COD's. Allow one week for delivery)

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NO WAR

Happy Anniversary!!! Celebrating 10 Years!

TRUTH ABOUT POWER IS SPOKEN HERE W.I.P.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

MAY 2000

THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

photo by Tristan Baurick

1 Gassing The Geese & Oly Free Bus

5 Up Front
Keep Miranda Rights

8 Eyewitness in D.C.

9 IMF in U.S.

14 *WIP* Game

19 Kent State
30th Anniversary

22 Redefining Sexuality

24 Bombing Iraq Into The Stone Age

Certificate of Achievement

Works In Progress honors the activists we have written about over the last 10 years. We honor the unknown women and men who have organized educational forums and street demonstrations to demand an end to the bombing of Iraq and to protest the slashing of local bus service, who won the fight for a downtown housing project, who exposed the Washington State Investment Board and the state's use of non-union workers for the construction of the DNR Building, who prevented the cutting of trees at Watch Mountain outside Randall, who fought against making it illegal to sit on downtown sidewalks, who want the death penalty abolished, who fight for civil rights, who demand justice for the oppressed in this country and oppose the harm the WTO is doing to people and the environment around the world.

We honor the people, nameless to us, who over the last 10 years, have educated themselves and gone to the meetings and rallies to push for justice and peace and for the preservation of our home, the Earth. Thank you for your anonymous work. May you continue to persevere and to celebrate life. Your unselfish display of intelligence and energy have helped us survive.

Alternative papers like Works In Progress usually have a short lifespan of just months to maybe a couple of years. It is remarkable that we have been here in Olympia for 10 years. And we are still going strong.

Thank you brothers and sisters, thank you Olympia.

10 YEARS

Works In Progress
PO Box 295
Olympia, WA 98507